

TRAVANCORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERIES



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Published under the orders of the Government of
Travancore.

Stone and Copper-plate Inscriptions of Travancore
with 7 plates.

BY

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B. A., M. P. A. S.,
Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore State.



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Re. 1-12-0]

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No. 27—Keralapuram Inscriptions.

Keralapuram, which is mentioned in inscriptions as a suburb of Muttalakuruchchi, a village of Paralkōṭṭu-dēsam in Śeṅgaḷunīr-vaḷanāḍu which was itself a sub-division of Tennāḍu, is a hamlet near Padmanābhapuram. It contains a Śiva temple, whose earliest record engraved on its south-west base is dated in Kollam 491 (= A. D. 1317) in the reign of Vīra-Udaiyamārttāṇḍavarman and has already been published. As the god of the temple has been called Vīrakēraḷēśvarttu-Mahādēva in this inscription and as the village also bore the name of Vīrakēraḷapuram *alias* Muttalaikkuruchchi, the temple and the village may be presumed to have come into existence during the reign of a king Vīrakēraḷavarman who must have reigned prior to the beginning of the 14th century; *i. e.*, in all probability, either of the two Vēṇāḍu kings of that name figuring in the Chōḷapuram epigraph of Kollam 302 and the Tiruvallam record of Kollam 399.

When this temple subsequently got into disrepair after the lapse of more than three or four centuries, it was renovated in Kollam 782 (= A. D. 1607) by Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman *alias* Śrī Kulāśekhara who constructed its *nālambalum*, kitchen and *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* in stone, and finished off in brick the *vimāna* of its central shrine. The same fact is also alluded to in the *Arṇṇ* plate of Kollam 821. This Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman (Kēṭṭai-tirunāl) is known from his Tiruvattāru inscriptions to have been the son of Umayammai-Rāṇi, to have belonged to the Tiruppāppūr-svarūpam and the Kīlappērur-illam and had reigned at least between the years Kollam 776 and 782; while the *State Manual* gives him, on the authority of the temple chronicles, a reign of nearly 11 years from Kollam 771 to 782.

The subjoined inscriptions engraved on several pillars of the temple are all dated in the 6th day of the month of Chittirai of Kollam 782, when the consecration ceremony of the renovated temple was performed, and when these pillars, some of them sculptured *uruttūn* and others of the variety called *chitra-kaṇḍam* were contributed as votive gifts by several private individuals connected with the temple. From the fact that the *śurru-maṇḍapa* and the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* are stated to have been constructed by the king himself, according perhaps to some definite plan, it looks as if the private donors, who wanted to participate in the meritorious work of the temple's renovation, paid for these pillars after their erection and had their own donative labels incised thereon.

These pillars are described as belonging to the *chitra-kaṇḍam* variety and as some images are also sculptured on their faces, they are further classified as *chitra-kaṇḍam-uruttūn*. This type which is very common in temples is formed, as its name implies, by the combination of two or three styles, the present variety consisting of three cubical portions connected together by intermediate shafts octagonal in section, which are further variegated with floral or plain band ornamentation. The square faces of the cubes at the middle and extremities bear on them representations of men and animals, conventional floral work and geometrical patterns.

The four pillars of the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* at its south-west, north-west, north-east and south-east corners are well sculptured in the style of the 17th century so familiar in the neighbouring districts of Madura and Tinnevely, and

represent, in order, the images respectively of Kulaśekhara-Perumāḷ, Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ together with Sundaramūrti, Lakshmaṇa and Rāma; but it is deplorable that all the figures are mutilated owing to wanton neglect and ill-usage. The introduction of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa in a Śiva temple is not so uncommon as it may appear at first sight, as these complementary images were popular in this period and are found in many of the Tinnevely temples erected during the Madura Nāyakas' rule. The other two pillars bearing the representations of the two Chēra kings Kulaśekhara and Chēramāṇ are however peculiar, and may have been fashioned at the original suggestion of king Ravivarman himself, who perhaps desired to perpetuate the memory of the two canonised Saints of his own regal line; for otherwise, it cannot be explained why the donors of these pillars, a brace of temple dancing girls and a temple-accountant, should have particularly chosen these rare representations to adorn their votive peers. Kulaśekhara, the staunch Vaiṣṇava devotee whose hymns are brimful of his fervid faith in the one god Viṣṇu, must have deprecated the Travancore king's patriotism which stationed him in front of a Śaiva shrine.

The *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* is the square hall just in front of the sanctum in Śiva temples, in which is installed an image of the *Rishabha* or bull, the vehicle of that god. The Sanskrit word *Rishabha* is transformed into *iḷapa* and *iḷchapa* in these inscriptions, by the common substitution of *ḷa* for *sha* as in *śēḷam* for *śēsham* etc., while the initial vowel *i* which is introduced in the Tamil rendering of Sanskrit words beginning with *ri*, ought to have given the equivalent *irushabha*. *Maṇḍapa* has assumed the vulgar form of *maṇḍaka* and *iśāna* which can reasonably change into *īyāna* as *dēyam* from *dēśam*, has here become *īyānta*.

Inscription A records that on the 6th day of the month of Chittirai in the Kollam year 782, the pillar bearing the image of Kulaśekhara-Perumāḷ was set up in the south-western corner (*kaṇṇi-mūlai*) of the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* by two women Nīlammaikutṭi, daughter of Mādammai and Mādammai, daughter of Ichchakutṭi, who belonged to the *mūttakūdi* of dancing girls attached to the temple of Mahādēva at this village of Kēraḷapuram; while the other inscription states that the temple-accountant, Ayyappaṇ-Ayyappaṇ of Parakōḍu-dēśam erected on the same day the pillar of Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ and Sundarapperumāḷ at the north-western corner of the same *maṇḍapa*. The other two pillars of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa were similarly the gifts respectively of this accountant's wife Śēnbagamāt-tāṇḍakutṭi, daughter of Nallānpillaipeṇṇal of the Suchindrum temple, and Nāch-chiṇṇar of Vilavūr-dēśam, made on the same day.

A¹

On the west base of the Rishabha-maṇḍapa.

1. மீனத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம் எழுந்த ஓடு சித்திரை மீ¹ கூவ.
2. நயினார்முத்தனைக்குறிச்சியில் ஸ்ரீவீரகேரளேச்சொரத்து² மா-
3. தெவர் கொயிலில் இழ்சபமண்டகத்தில் வடமேழைமூலையில்
4. சொ(ம்)மான்³ பெருமானும் சுந்தரப்பெருமானும்

1 This is registered as No. 54 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 A. D.

2 Read ஸ்ரீவீரகேரளேச்சொரத்து.

3 Expressed by a symbol ஓ.

- 5 உருத்தூண் செய்விச்ச ~~ஷெ~~ மாதெவர்கொயிலில் தானக்கணக்கு-
6 டைய திருமுகமெழுத்து பரக்கொட்டு தெசத்து கணக்கு¹ அய்யன்² அய்யன் சதாசெவை [11*]

B³

On the same base.

- 1 ளாஅயெ னு சித்திரை கூவ நயினார் கொ(ர)ளபுரத்து
2 மாதெவர் கொயிலில் இழபமண்டகத்தில் கண்-
3 னிழலையில் குலசெகரப்பெருமாள்⁵ உருத்தூண் செய்-
4 வித்த மாதெவர் கொயிலில் முறையில் மூத்த-
5 குடியில் மாதம்மை மகள் நீலம்மைகுட்டியு-
6 ம் ஈச்சகுட்டி மகள் மாதம்மயும் சதாசெவை [11*]

C¹⁰

On the east base of the same mandapa.

- 1 ளாஅயெ னு சித்திரை மீர் கூவ கொளபுரத்து இஷபமண்டகத்தில்
2 ஈயாந்த⁴ மூலையில் இளையபெருமாள்⁴ உருத்தூண்⁶ ஷெ கொயிலில் தான-
3 க்கணக்கு⁷ அய்யப்பன்¹ அய்யப்பன் பெண்சாதி⁸ குசுந்திரமுடைய நயி-
னார்
4 கொயிலில் சிறப்பு⁹ யக ல் நல்லாம்பிள்ளைப்பெற்றாள்
5 மகள் செம்பகமரத்தாண்டக்குட்டி¹⁰ செய்விச்சது ச(ர)தாசெவை ஹரி
[11*]

D¹¹

On the same base.

- 1 மீனத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம் ளாஅயெ னு
2 சித்திரை மீர் கூவ நயினார் கொளபுரத்து மாதெவர்
3 கொயிலில் இழபமண்டகத்தில் தென்கிழக்கு மூ-
4 லையில் சிராமன் உருத்தூண் செய்வித்த விலவூர்
5 தெசத்து வித்திருந்த நாச்சியார் மகள் நாச்சியார் சதாசெவை ஹரி [11*]

1 Expressed by a symbol ழுதி.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 This is registered as No. 55 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

4 It ought to be ஈசான.

5 Expressed by a symbol ழு.

6 „ உரு.

7 „ க்கு.

8 Read சீந்திரமுடைய.

9 The name சிறப்பு யகல் means 'out of the eleven dancing girls who belonged to the 'ornamental' adjunct of the temple i.e. for dancing and singing, as opposed the other class of maid-servants who attended to the temple menial service.

10 This is registered as No. 56 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

11 No. 58 of the same collection.



No. 28.—Cheraman-Perumal.

It will be of interest to give here a short account of the life of the royal-saint Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ, because of his connection with the ancient Chēra house, and as king Rāma-varman of Travancore (1758-98) mentions him as an ancestor of his dynasty¹. The main incidents of the saint-king's biography have been succinctly summarised in a single verse² by Umāpatiśivāchārya in his *Tiruttonḍar-purāṇasāram*. The story as given in the *Periyapurāṇam* is as follows:—

With his capital at the seaport town of Koḍuṅgōḷūr called also Mahōdai, whose ramparts were the high mountain ranges and whose moat was the deep sea, there reigned a powerful king named Śeṅgōrporaiyaṇ, the overlord of Malai-nāḍu. In a branch of this illustrious family was born prince Perumākkōdaiyār also called by the significant title of Kālārīravarivār³ (one who understood the speech of all living beings), a pious devotee of Śiva, who had kept himself unsoiled by the dissipations of a royal court and had dedicated his life to the service of the god at Tiruvaṇjaikkalām in tending the temple flower-gardens and in supplying garlands for the god's daily worship⁴. But when Śeṅgōrporaiyaṇ abdicated at the end of a long reign and retired to an anchorite's life, this prince was selected by the ministers to succeed to the throne and was prevailed upon with great difficulty to don the royal purple after he had obtained divine sanction for his acceptance of the exalted office.

He was of such a pious disposition that when, on his preliminary royal entry into the capital, he came across a washerman whose body was whitened with Fuller's earth (*uvarmaṇ*), he made obeisance to the man in the thought that he was a Śaiva *bhakta* smeared with the holy ashes and that his appearance was a timely reminder to himself from on high to persevere in his pious life. On another occasion, it is said that Śiva sent a poet-musician called Bāṇabhadra from Madura with a letter of introduction⁵ to him that the bearer should be patronised and well-rewarded with riches and that the king, who was immensely pleased with the high honor that this Divine commission implied, even went to the length of offering his whole kingdom to the god's protege. His devotion towards god Natarāja of Chidambaram grew in intensity and the great Dancer used to reward his piety by enabling him to

¹ यद्वरचरन्पतिर्मधुरापुरीशपत्रापणेन कनकं प्रददावसङ्कथम् ।

तत्तुन्नवायकुलभक्तजनाय भूयात् स श्रेयसे निखिलाजकुलप्रदीपः ॥

Balarāmabharatam, (T. A. S. Vol. IV, p. 109).

² காவலர்ம கோதையார் கொடுங்கோளூர்க்கோக் கழறியவை யறிந்தகோச் சிலம்போசைக்கருத்தார்
நாவலர்கோ ண்ண்பரடிச் சேரனென்றே நவீனாவரும் வண்ணனை நயந்தகோந்
பாவலர்கோப் பாணபத் திரனல் வாய்ந்த பரமர்திரு முகம்வாங்கிப் பணிகோவெற்பின்
மேலியகோ வாணக்குக் குணிரவைத்த வீரர்கோ வெணையாளுஞ் சேரர்கோவே.

Tiruttonḍar-purāṇa-sāram, v. 42.

³ க்ளைத்தன கொடுக்கவல்லா னிலத்தயிர் கழறுஞ் சொற்க

ணைத்தையு மறிந்திரங்கு மன்புடைச் சேரமன்காண்.—*Tiruvāḷiyār-purāṇam*.

⁴ சிலமிசுமலை நாடுவாழ் கொடுங்கோளூர், நிறந்த செங்கோற் கோதையார் செல்வர் திருவஞ்சையிறை
மெல்லடி பணிந்திட, செய்யபொறை யன்றவ முற.—*Tiruttonḍar-satokam*.

⁵ This verse beginning with 'மதிமலிபுரிசை' is the first piece in the *Paṇḍarāntirumurai*.

hear the tinkling rhythm of his golden anklets (*porṣīlambu*) at the end of his daily *pūjā*¹. Failing, however, to hear this accustomed token on a particular day, the king was very much disheartened and would have stabbed himself to death, if Natarāja had not intervened in time to save His votary from an unnatural end. He then learnt that the beautiful hymns sung by the arch-devotee Sundaramūrti in the temple at Chidambaram were so enthralling as to make the god forget his accustomed token to the Chēra king. This incident was a turning point in the life of Chēramāṇ and thenceforward his ardour grew, if anything, more fervid and he was filled with a longing to visit not only Chidambaram the abode of his favourite deity, but also pay homage to the great soul whose songs had kept Śiva spell-bound.

Accordingly he set out from his capital and after passing through the Koṅgu-nāḍu, through which lay in those days one of the highways between the eastern districts and Malai-maṇḍalam, finally reached Chidambaram, where the divine vision which was vouchsafed him evoked a fitting response in the poem named the *Ponvaṇṇattandādi*². He then proceeded to Tiruvārūr, the headquarters of Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār, and formed with him a memorable friendship which, while earning for the latter the sobriquet of 'Chēramāṇṟōḷaṇ', continued unabated in its sincerity till the simultaneous and mysterious exit of both of them from Tiruvaṇjaikkālam. After having composed the *Tirumummaṇikkōvai*³ in honour of god Valmīkanātha during his short stay at Tiruvārūr, the Chēra king then accompanied Sundara on an extensive tour of pilgrimage to many holy temples of Śiva in the Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms, among which are mentioned: Kīlvelūr, Nāgaikkārōṇam, Tirumaṇikkāḍu (Vēdāraṇyam), Paḷaṇam, Agastyaṇ-palli, Kuḷagar-Koḍikkōyil, Tiruppattūr, Madurai, Tiruppūvaṇam, Tiruvāppaṇūr, Tiruvēḍagam, Tirupparaṅgunṇam, Kurrālam, Kuṟumbalā, Tirunelvēli, Rāmēśvaram, Tiruchchuliyal, Kānappēr, Tiruppuṇavāyil, Pātālēśvaram, Tirukkaṇḍiyūr and Tiruvaiyyāru. Both the friends then cut across the Koṅgudēśam and reached Koḍuṅgōlūr, where Chēramāṇ entertained Sundara with such pomp and respect as was befitting to the renowned boy-saint.

After a short congenial stay at the Chēra capital, Sundara finally took leave of his royal friend and reached Tiruvārūr loaded with many costly presents and jewels, after undergoing a miraculous adventure with banditti *en route* at Tirumuruṅappūṇḍi in the Coimbatore District. Some time later, Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār paid a second visit to his Chēra friend, after augmenting his fame on the way by the performance of a miracle of the resurrection of a brahman boy at Tiruppukkoliyūr (Coimbatore District), and was received with huge ovations by the people of Tiruvaṇjaikkālam and their king. While Sundaramūrti was thus staying in the Chēra capital, god Śiva, it is stated, sent a white elephant to fetch³ the

1

—நம்பற்கு

காழிலும்பின் சந்தணிந்து கண்ணியணிந்து தினங்
காழ்சிலம்பு கேட்ட இருக்காதோனும்.

—Tiruvārūr-ulā.

2

This is collected in the *Paḍinṟāntirumurai*.

3

கையாவுடலோடு சேரமாகுநான்
வியையாமதமாற வென்னாணமேல் கொள்ள.

—Kōyil-Tiruvikāi ppa, v. 4.

saint back to his original abode Kailāsa, and in obedience to that holy mandate he prepared to start heavenwards; but before setting out, his commiserating thoughts strayed for a moment towards his royal comrade whom he had to leave behind. Chēramāṇ-Perumāl, who was taking his bath at his palace at that time, vaulted on a horse and rushing to the spot where the elephant was marching with its precious burden, respectfully circumambulated his friend and after muttering the mystic formula of the *pāṇchākshara* into the horse's ear, rose into the air leading the way in front to Mount Kailāsa. The loyal servants of the Chēra king, who had witnessed their master mounting heavenwards, waited till he was lost to sight and despairing of his return killed themselves by falling on their upright swords, like the true warriors that they were. On reaching the Silver Mountain, Chēramāṇ-Perumāl gained audience of Śiva through the recommendation of his friend and sang on that occasion the poem called the *Tirukkailāyājñāna-ulā*¹ (called also the *Ādi-ulā*), which received the god's imprimatur. This poem is said to have been transmitted to this world by a certain Māsattanār² who had heard it chanted on the slopes of Kailāsa, while the publicity given to the songs that Sundara hymned forth on his way to the Holy Mount is attributed to Varuṇa, the lord of the oceans.

Perumilalai-Kuṇṇambar, one of the sixty-three devotees, also killed himself in his own place in order to join Sundara on Kailāsa. Auvai, who is said to have been the sister of Chēramāṇ-Perumāl also reached Kailāsa on this occasion.

Now as regards the period when Chēramāṇ-Perumāl flourished, its determination is confronted with the usual difficulties attendant on similar questions, namely, that the available materials are so superimposed with much that is purely traditional and supernatural that there is no safe historical foundation to proceed upon. The sources from which such information can be collated may be classified as follows:—

- (i) tradition current in Malabar regarding this king, as recorded in the *Kēraḷōlpatti*;
- (ii) the biographical sketches of this king and of Sundaramūrti, Viṇamindar, Kōṭpuliyaṛ, Māṇakkaṇjārar, Ēyarkōṇ-Kalikkāmaṇār, Perumilalai-Kuṇṇambar, and Sōmāṣiyaṛ, who were his contemporaries according to the *Periyapurāṇam*;
- (iii) the *Tiruvilaiyādarapurāṇam* of Parañjōtiyaṛ, which mentions the deputation of the lutist Bāṇabhadra to this Chēra's court as the 55th of the sixty-four divine sports of god Sundarēśa of Madura; and
- (iv) other miscellaneous references.

(i) *The Kēraḷōlpatti*, a Malayalam work of no great antiquity or authenticity purporting to be a historical chronicle of the early Kēraḷa kings, places the end of the Chēramāṇ rule in the 5th century (A. D. 428) and relates of a certain Bāṇaperumāl, one of them, that he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca on conversion to an

1 This finds a place in the 11th *Tirumurai*.

2 *Purāṇānūru*, see footnote on p. 529.

alien creed. Mr. Logan linking this information with the alleged discovery of a tomb-stone dated 826 A. D. supposed to record the death at Sahar-Mukhal of a certain Hindu royal convert named Abdul-Rahiman-Sāmūri on his return journey to his native land, has tried to trace the origin of the Kollam era to this hypothetical conversion¹. Now that the institution of the era is however attributed² to the foundation of the maritime city of Kollam at about this time and that the truth about the existence and purport of the Arabian epitaph is discredited for want of definite testimony, the tradition of a Chēramāṇ's conversion to Muhammadanism has, by scholars, been dismissed as groundless. It is not impossible that the disappearance of a Chēra king, miraculously or otherwise, the actual conversion of a Zamorin of Calicut to Muhammadanism as stated by the historian Ferishta and the extensions and improvements to the seaport of Quilon at the instance of Sapir Iso and his thriving co-religionists, which may have all taken place within a few decades of each other were commingled in a haphard fashion when the chronicle was patched up a few centuries ago. That the date given for the Chēramāṇ in the chronicle is not trustworthy has been accepted by all, and no reliance need be placed on the account which terminates the Chēramāṇ rule in the first half of the 5th century A. D.

(ii) From the *Periyapurāṇam*, it is learnt that the Śiva temple at Tirukkandiyūr, one of the *Aṣṭavīratāṇams* and *Saptasthānams*, a mile to the south of Tiruvaiyyāru in the Tanjore District, was visited by Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ in company with Sundaramūrti and that it was only in its vicinity that, at the command of god Pañchanādēśvara, the river Kāvērī parted its swollen waters so as to leave a dry ford for the two devotees to walk across with ease³. It is therefore highly probable that the Śiva temple at Tirukkandiyūr in the Cheṅgannūr taluk of the Travancore State, which is considered to be one of the oldest in Kēraḷa and to have been constructed by Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ⁴ himself, was perhaps consecrated by him as a remembrancer of this episode; and as we know from epigraphical sources⁵ that it came into existence in A. D. 823 two years before the starting of the Kollam era and had to be renovated in Kollam 392, Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ, its reputed author, may also be assigned to the beginning of the 9th century A. D.

The *Periyapurāṇam* which has been considered on all hands to be a quasi-historical compilation, denuded of the few supernatural incidents that may not be acceptable in a hyper-critical sense, does not supply in the lives of Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ or of his Nāyaṇmār contemporaries any clues that could help in the determination of their age with certainty. We only know that, on the abdication of a Chēra king named Śeṅgōrporaiyaṇ who was ruling at Koḍuṅgōlūr, the next in succession Perumākkōdaiyār, the Śaiva devotee, ascended the throne. But unfortunately the names Śeṅgōrporaiyaṇ (the just Chēra) and Perumākkōdaiyār (the great Chēra) sound more like titles than individual appellations, *Poraiyaṇ* and

1 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 225 *et seq.*

2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 76.

3 *Chēramāṇ-Perumāṇāyaṇār-purāṇam*, vv. 130-9.

4 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 508.

5 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 290.

Kōdai being but synonymous with *Chēra*; but although it may be hazardous to assert that they do not represent the distinctive names of two *Chēra* kings, they are however a pair of designations too vague to yield any historical landmark. The *Chōla* and *Pāṇḍya* contemporaries of *Chēramāṇ* are also referred to by their dynastic titles of *Valavaṇ* and *Tēṇṇavaṇ*, which are absolutely useless for purposes of definite identification. The life-sketches of the *Nāyaṇmār* contemporaries of this king are also similarly barren of information, except that *Sundara* is mentioned to have been the *protege* of a certain *Narasiṅgamuṇaiyaraiaṇ*, the chief of *Milāḍu*, who had his headquarters at *Tirukkōyilūr* in the South Arcot District, and *Sundara* himself refers to a weak *Pallava* king of that period to whom his vassals stopped the payment of tribute. From the *Tirunāvalūr* and *Tirukkōyilūr* inscriptions a few generations of *Milāḍu* chiefs with names *Narasimha* and *Rāma* are understood to have ruled in the years A. D. 954, 957, 1059 and 1149, and it is just vaguely possible that a *Narasiṅgamuṇaiyaraiaṇ* may have lived in the beginning of the 9th century A. D., as *Sundara's* patron.² The reference to the *Pallava* also points to a period when their power was at a low ebb, and this fits in well with the reign of *Dantivarman* (780-830) in whose later years *Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam* was invaded from the north by *Gōvinda III* (804) and on the south by the *Pāṇḍya*, *Varaguṇa Mahārāja*³ (825).

(iii) The *Tiruvilaiyādal-purāṇam* of *Paraṇjōtiyār* which professes to give a chronological narration of the sixty-four divine sports of god *Chokkanātha* of *Madura* places in the reign of a *Pāṇḍya* king named *Varaguṇa*, the following two episodes which constitute the 54th (*Viragu-virra-paḍalam*) and 55th (*Tirumugam-koḍutta-paḍalam*) divine sports of that book, namely, the discomfiture *Ēmanātha* the northern lute-player on behalf of the local bard *Bhadra*, and the latter's deputation to a *Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ* of *Koduṇḍōlūr* with a poem-inscribed *cadjan* order for presents. Although the scheme of chronology adopted by *Paraṇjōtiyār* is a medley of tradition, myth and royal names, it may however be examined, all other things apart, whether the location of *Bhadra* in the reign of a *Pāṇḍya* king who has the name of *Varaguṇa* is consistent with the above suppositions relating to *Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ* and *Sundara*. We know from reliable sources that *Varaguṇa-Mahārāja*, the grandson of *Jaṭila-Parāntaka* (770 A. D.) and himself the grandfather of *Varaguṇavarman* who ascended the throne in A. D. 862 must have been reigning in the beginning of the 9th century; and as it is also known that this *Pāṇḍya* sovereign was a devout *Śaiva* (*bhakta*), there is nothing improbable in linking together the above traditional accounts and in assuming *Chēramāṇ* to have been this *Pāṇḍya's* contemporary and to have lived in the first quarter of the 9th century A. D. The *Bāṇa-Bhadra* episode is also referred to in the *Kallāḍam*; but

1 There have been kings with these names —

Kuṭṭuvaṇ-Kōdai, Makkcdai, Irumbōrai, (*Purāṇāṇṇuru*) and Kannaṇ-Pōraiyaṇ (*T. A. S* Vol. III).

2 *Sendamīl*, Vol. III, p. 320.

3 *The Pallavas*, p. 76.

4 மன்றலத் தெரியன் மார்பன் வரகுணன் செங்கோலோச்சி
பொன்றலங் காவணனிற் பொலியு நாளேமநாதன் — *Viraguvirra-paḍalam*.

மன்னர் தம்பிரானுடைய வரகுணதேவன்

தன்னை வந்தடிபணிந்தனன் தந்திரிக்குழுவோன். — *ibid*, v. 58.

as its author Kallāḍaṇār¹ is, on other grounds,² considered to have been a later poet different from his namesake of the last Academy;—this mention need not necessarily militate against the assignment of Chēramāṇ to the beginning of the 9th century.

(iv) The tradition stating that one of the offspring of the couple Bhagavan and Ādi, who was brought up by the Adigaṇ³ and who was eventually raised to the Chēra throne was the Chēramāṇ-Perumāl of the *Periyapūrāṇam* is not supported by any evidence except that of a verse⁴ popularly attributed to Auvaiyār, which she is said to have addressed in derision to the Chēra king, when god Vināyaka, pleased with her devotion, had raised her to heaven with his proboscis, sometime before the mounted pair Sundaramūrti and Chēramāṇ could arrive at the Kailāsa gates. This is another instance wherein different episodes are mixed up together promiscuously.

(v) In his learned article on the age of Jñānasambandha, Prof. Sundaram Pillai finds an implied reference to certain Śaiva Nāyaṇmārs in the minor *stōtras* of Śaṅkara, and if the *Śivabhujanga*, *Sivānandalaharī* and *Saṁdaryalaharī* are the *indisputable* compositions of the author of the great *Bhāṣyas*, then the passing reference in the stanza of the *Śivabhujanga*⁵ may be taken to contain a covert sneer at Sundara's matrimonial foibles, which however veneered over by some mythical varnish was considered too big a blemish to be winked at by Ēyarkōṇ-Kaiik-kāmaṇḍāyaṇār, who would rather die of his colic rather than submit to be cured by Sundara. The date of Śaṅkara has been accepted by many scholars to be the beginning of the 9th century (788 to 820 A. D.); and in that case, it is also possible that the Sundara's Tiruvorriyūr episode may have reached his ears.

Thus all the available data tend towards the ascription of Chēramāṇ-Perumāl-Nāyaṇār to the beginning of the 9th century A. D., and the temptation now offers itself to consider whether this royal saint of the Tamil hagiology can be the same as the Chēra king Rājasekhara⁶ of the Talamana-illam copper-plate record. In support of that possible identification these points may be noted.

1 பரீபுரக்கம்பலை யிருசெவியுண்ணும், குடக்கோச்சேரன் கிடைத்திதுகாண்டென, மதிமலிபுரிசைத்தி
ருமுகக்கூறி, பன்புருத்தரித்த வின்பிசைப்பாணன், பெற்றிதிக்கொடுக்கென வறவிடுத்தருளிய, மா
தவர் வழுத்துங் கூடற் கிறைவன் *Kallidam*, v. 11. ll. 25-30

2 *Sendamīl*, Vol. XV. p. 107-111.

3 அரும்பார் சோலை சுரும்பார் வஞ்சி, அநிலையில்லடை அதிகமான் வளர்ந்தான் — *Kapilar-agaval*.
but this Kapilar is believed to be a more modern namesake of the poet of the Last Academy.

4 மதரமொழிவினுமையான் சிறுவன் மலரமுய
முதிரநிலையவல்லார்க்கரிதோ முகில் போன் முழங்கி
சநிரவருகின்ற யானையுந் தேருமதன் பின்வருங்
குசியையுங் காதுங் கிழவியுங் காதங் குலமன்னனே.

5 न शक्रोभिः कर्तुं परद्रोहलेखं कथं प्रीयसे त्वं न जाने गिरिश ।

तदा हि प्रसन्नोऽसि कस्यपि कान्तासुतद्रोहिणो वा पितृद्रोहिणो वा ॥ *Śivabhujangam*, v.

In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 109, the Prof. finds fault with Mr. V. Venkayya's identification of कान्ताद्रोहि with Sundara and says that Iyarpagai-Nāyaṇār was intended.

6 *Tam. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 13.

In the Tiruvalla copper-plate record of the beginning of the 11th century(?) the king has been mentioned as Śennittalaiadigaḷ Rājaśekharaṇ,¹ which carries with it the additional significance of his devotion to god Śiva at Sennittalai, containing an early phallic emblem of the *liṅga*².

Further, the king begins his Talamana-illam record with the words 'Namas-śivāya'³ in place of the almost universal 'Svasti-śrī', and although this formula has been met with elsewhere in a few instances, it is nevertheless rare and may be considered to be significant of the special devotion of the king to god Śiva.

The paleography of the plate also points to about the beginning of the 9th century as its age and this was the period in which Sundaramūrtti-Nāyaṇār and his friend Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ are considered to have flourished. As it is quite possible that Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ was a dynastic title meaning 'the Chēra king', king Rājaśekhara may have been known in the Tamil Districts exclusively by that title in the same way as the slightly later Chēra kings Sthāṇu-Ravi and Vijarāga-dēva were known in the records of those districts as Chēramāṇ Kōttāṇu-Ravi and Chēramāṇ Vijayarāga-dēva.

There is again the tradition recorded in the *Śaṅkaravijaya* that a Kēraḷa king called Rājaśekhara was a contemporary of the great Śaṅkara, to whom he showed three dramas of his own composition. This incident is found in an amplified form in the *Jagadgururatnamālāstava* of Sadāśivabrahmēndra of the 16th century, and its commentator has further supplemented the information by saying that the three and a *saṭṭaka* which Rājaśekhara showed to Śaṅkara were *Bālarā-māyaṇa*, *Viddhaśālabhaṇjika*, *Prachandapāṇḍava* and *Karpūramaṇjarī*. As these works are known to be the works of a northern poet called Rājaśekhara who flourished in the court of Mahēndrapāla of the middle of the 10th century and who could not have been Śaṅkara's contemporary, the author of the *Stava* was perhaps confused by the similarity of names into the identification of a Kēraḷa king Rājaśekhara with the northern poet of a later date. This leaves the *Śaṅkaravijaya* statement that a Kēraḷa king was the author of three dramas still unexplained, and it is not known if Mādhavāchārya was himself misled by the identity in the names of the two different individuals.

Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar M. A., B. L., has, in a learned article in Malayalam⁴ attempted to solve the difficulty by supposing that Rājaśekhara may be a title of the Chēra king Kulaśekhara-varman, the accredited author of the two dramas *Tapatīsamvaram* and *Subhadraḍhanaṇjayaṃ* and of a hypothetical third called *Vichchinnābhhiṣhēka*. Against this it may be said that the name of the Kēraḷa king of the Tiruvalla copper-plate cannot have been a title like Rājakesarivarman or Māyavarman of the Tamil records, because of the specific mention of him as Rājarāja-Paramesvara-Bhaṭṭāraka-Rājaśekhara-dēva, the first three being his titles and the last word his distinctive name. The word *Namasśivāya* prefacing his record is also against his being identified with Kulaśekhara, the author of the

1 *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 178.

2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, p. 69.

3 Extracted on page 10 of the *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II.

4 *Bhāṣhāpōshini* for 1917.

Mukundamālā and the *Tirumōḻi*, which are saturated with a deep and almost exclusive devotion for Vishṇu.

Thus it may be tentatively assumed that Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ was identical with Rājāsēkharadēva of the copper-plate record and that he lived in the first quarter of the 9th century, until other convincing arguments proving the contrary are forthcoming.

In this connection it may be stated that Chēramāṇ-Perumāḷ has elsewhere been identified with Bāṇa-Perumāḷ¹ (4th century A. D.), the fifth viceroy of the Perumāḷ line according to the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, on the strength of a possible reference to him in the 8th verse of the *Tirunōḻittāṇmalai-paḍigam* of Sundaramūrti:

வரமலிவானன் வந்து வழிதந்தெனக்கேறுவதோர்
சிரமலியானை தந்தானொடித்தான் மலையுத்தமனே—(v. 8);

which has been interpreted to express the grateful recognition on the part of Sundara of the gift of an elephant made to him by the Chēra king. According to tradition, this *paḍigam* was sung by Sundara on the eve of his departure to Kailāsa on the celestial white elephant that had been sent to fetch him up; and even if this mythological colouring is ignored, there is unmistakable evidence throughout all the verses of the poem in each individual stanza of which the gift of an elephant is dutifully acknowledged, to indicate that Sundara refers to god Śiva himself as the donor and not to any mortal, king and friend though he may be. The expressions of humility and devotion used in the verse can more fitly be considered to have been addressed to god rather than be applied to the Chēra king who stood in the relation of a disciple to Sundara. These instances are the following:—

நாயினேனைப்பொருட் படுத்துவான், ஊனுயிர்வேறுசெய்தான் (v. 1)
தொண்டனேனை, யந்தரமால் விசும்பிலழகானையருள் புரிந்த (v. 3)
வானநன்னாடர் முன்னே, தஞ்சுதன் மாற்றுவித்துத் தொண்டனேன்பரமல்ல-
தொரு, வெஞ்சினவானை தந்தான் நொடித்தான் மலையுத்தமனே (v. 6)
இந்திரன் மாலபிரமன்னெழிலார் மிகுதேவரெல்லாம்,
வந்தெதிர்கொள்ளவென்னை மத்தயானை யருள்புரிந்து (v. 9)

Vāṇaṇ though it may be an alternative form of Bāṇaṇ is also a contraction of the word *vāḷṇaṇ* signifying 'one who dwells', and *varamalivāṇaṇ* which has been taken as the 'Bāṇa(-perumāḷ) of great gifts' may equally appropriately refer to god 'the bestower of bounteous gifts'. It is no doubt true that Chēra kings were proverbially lavish in their munificence and that many poems have extolled their gifts of elephants to poets and other suppliants; but the *paḍigam* under reference does not appear to immortalise a mere mortal's gift.

The incidents which Sundara is supposed to have recorded in these verses have given rise to the story that Sundara ascended to heaven with his mortal body

1 Against this identification of this Śaiva saint with Bāṇapperumāḷ of the 4th century A. D. it may be stated that the reference to Tiruvalluvar contained in the *Tirukkaiḷāya-jñāna-ula* as *paṇḍiyyār* seems to point to the conclusion that its author may have flourished many centuries after the ancient poet of the 1st century A. D.

(a) கண்டு கேட்டுண்டுயிர்த்துற்றியுமைம்புலனு
மொண்டொழுகண்ணையுனவென்று—பண்டையோர்கட்டுரையை.

(b) இல்லாநா யெல்லாருமென்குவார் செல்வரை
யெல்லாருஞ் செய்வார் சிறப்பென்னுஞ்—சொல்லாலே.

and that he directed god Varuṇa whom he has addressed as ‘ஆழிகடலரையாவஞ்சையப்பர்க்கறிவிப்பதே’ in the last line of the poem to publish this *padigam* to the terrestrial world. From the reference made to god Aṇjaikkalattappar in the last verse and from the description of Noḍittāṇmalai in verse 7, that the god of that hill was worshipped by the lord of the sea with his flower-like waves—

ஆழைகடலாலாபனலி கொண்டுமுன் வந்திறைஞ்சும்

உலையணையா திவண்ணொநொடித்தான்மலையுத்தம்கீன—(v. 7)

one is tempted to locate Noḍittāṇmalai (the hill of Hara) in the vicinity of Aṇjaikkalām and not equate it with the Kailāsa hill in the midst of the Himalayas. ‘ஆழிகடலரையா’ may have been used as an epithet of Aṇjaikkalām that has elsewhere been described as splashed by the sea-waves, or, if an apostrophe, may it not refer to a chieftain of the coast (*kaḍal + araiyaṇ*)? Kailāsanatha’s temples are very common in many places and the hill Noḍittāṇmalai, wherever it was, must have borne on its summit one such shrine dedicated to Śiva. It is likely that Sundara who may have gone up to worship that god was followed soon after by his royal host, that they both composed respectively on this occasion the songs *Tirunoḍittāṇmalai-padigam* and *Tirukkailāyājñāna-ulā* and that some mysterious causes, having led to their sudden disappearance from the land of the living, their accredited piety may have then attracted towards their glorification the supernatural version of a celestial journey to Mount Kailāsa with their mortal bodies.

The introductory portion of the *Tirukkailāyājñāna-ulā* of Chēramāṇ is also worth noting in this connection, in regard to the description it gives of god Śiva, who was seated in the *tirukkōyil* (*śrīkōyil* = temple?) at Śivapuram². The large number of the *āgamic* terms that have been employed in the detailed enumeration of the ornaments with which Śiva was decked out, seems to suggest that the royal poet had before him an iconographic representation of Śiva, which he naturally identified with the higher divinity of the Silver-Mount. The terms that have been used are the following: *chūlamani*, *paṭṭam*, *makarakuṇḍala*, *kaṇḍigai*, *channavīram*, *kēyūram*, *udarabandham*, *kaṭisūtram*, *kaṇkaṇam*, *vāchikai*, *kinkini*, *mēkhalā*, *hāra* and *jaṭāmakuṭa* among ornaments and *jhallari*, *bhēri*, *karatālam*, *maddala* and *duṇḍubhi* among musical instruments.

No. 29.—Kulasekhara-Perumal.

A short account of the life and times of the royal Saint Kulaśekhara-Ālvār may, with advantage, be appended here, because he was an early king of the Chēra house of Malai-maṇḍalam and the present ruling dynasty of Travancore also traces its descent from him.

- 1 Compare: சுந்தித்தடமால்வரைபோற்றிறைகடனியாதிடறுங்கடலங்கரைமே
லந்தித்தகைச்செக்கர்வானேயோத்தியாலனியார்பொழிலஞ்சைக்கனத்தப்பனே—(v. 3).
and மழைக்கு நிகரொப்பனவன்றிரைகள் வலித்தெற்றிமுழங்கிவலம் புரிகொண்
டழைக்குங் கடலங்கரைமேன் மகோதையனியார் பொழிலஞ்சைக்கனத்தப்பனே—(v. 4).
- 2 சீரார்விலோகந்தன்னுட் சிவபுரத்திலோரார் நிருக்கோயினுள்ளிருப்ப —*Tirukkailāyājñāna-ulā*.

It may be noted that the god at Tiruchchivapērūr (Trichur) is called Vāḍakkunnātha of the Vṛishabhādri Hill.

The sources from which the material for this account can be collected are the *Divyasūri-charitam*¹ of Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita (12th century), *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*² of Piṇṇaḷagiya-Perumāḷ-Jiyar (14th century), *Upadēsarāṭṇamālā* of Maṇavāḷamāmuni (14th century), *Periya-tirumuḍi-aḍavu* of Kaṇḍāḍaiyappaṇ (14th century) and a few other later Vaiṣṇava works, which furnish certain traditional landmarks in the life of Kulaśekhara interspersed, more or less, with incidents of a supernatural character, that have 'mistletoed' on the original biographical trunk with the lapse of time.

The Saint was born according to these accounts in the royal Chēra dynasty at Vaṇji (Tiruvāṇjaikkulam) in the 28th year of the Kali era,³ corresponding to the cyclic year Parābhava,⁴ on the Thursday of the month of Māsi, which had dvādaśi-tithi of the bright fortnight and Punarvasu-nakshatra. He was considered as an incarnation of the Śrī-Kaustubha of god Viṣṇu and as his birth in the royal family was considered to be in answer to the devout petition of the old childless king Dṛidhavrata, the new born prince was named Kulaśekhara, the crest jewel of his race. When the heir-apparent came of age, the old king abdicated the kingdom and retired to a quiet *vānaprastha*'s life, and the new king Kulaśekhara ascended the ancient Chēra throne to the joy of his ministers and subjects whom he pleased by his wisdom and equity. His devotion to god Viṣṇu also grew apace and he often spent his time in listening to expositions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the other sacred epics and his money in giving largesses to the Vaiṣṇava devotees who mustered strong in his capital. His piety and sincerity were so great, it is said, that on one occasion when the pathetic story was being narrated as to how Rāvaṇa carried away the helpless Sīta from the sylvan hermitage, he at once issued orders to marshall out his army for the invasion of Ceylon and the punishment of the abductor⁵. The minister who felt jealous of the favours showered by the king on the Vaiṣṇava *bhaktas*, tried by some ruse to bring back the king from his pious infatuation, and with this end in view they trumped up on the devotees a false charge of the theft of some temple jewels; but the strategem did not work, as Kulaśekhara vindicated their innocence by the miracle of inserting his hand in a pot

1 Appendix to the *History of Vaiṣṇavism*, by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M. A.

2 तस्यामभूच्चैरुलप्रदीपः श्रीकौस्तुभात्मा कुलशेखराख्यः ।

महीपातेर्माघपुनर्वसूयद्दिने हरेः पूर्णकटाक्षलक्ष्यः ॥—*Divyasūricharitam*.

3 சேரன் குலசேகரராய்க்கொண்டு கூத்தியவரணத்திலே மாசிமாசத்தில் புனர்பூசநக்சத்ரத்தில் வந்தவதரித்தார் — *Piṇṇaḷagiya-perumāḷ Jiyar*.

4 சலி 28 ம்வருஷம் பராவவருஷம் மாசிமீ சுக்லதுவாதசி வெள்ளிக்கிழமை கூடின புனர்வச நக்சத்ரம் — *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*.

4 वर्षे पराभवे मासे कुम्भे वै शुक्लपक्षके ।

श्रीमत् पुनर्वसूतारे दशम्यां गुहवासरे ॥

कौस्तुभांशेन संजज्ञे महात्मा कुलशेखरम् ।

Prapaṇṇāmṛitam.

5 श्रीरामभक्तिरसपूर्णमनस्समृत श्री.

रामात्मभाबसहितस्सगृहीतखड्गः ।

रामायणश्रवणरावणखण्डनेच्छु-

स्तिन्धुं विवेक्ष कुलशेखरभूमिपो यः ॥

—*Bālarāmabharatam* (T. A. S. IV, p. 109).

containing a live cobra and drawing it out unscathed.¹ The royal saint then threw off the reigns of government in disgust and after anointing the prince *Drīdhavrata* who had been named after his grandfather, started out on a pilgrimage to the holy isle of *Śrīrangam* and spent there some years, serving and worshipping god *Alagiyamaṇavāla* of that temple after bestowing on him his pious daughter in marriage. This last incident is also mentioned in the *Koyilolugu*² to the effect that after Kali year 50, *Kulaśēkara*, the lord of the three Tamil kingdoms of *Chēra*, *Pāṇḍya* and *Chōla*, married his daughter *Śōlakulavallī* to the god of *Śrīrangam*, giving away his whole wealth as dowry, and that he built the *Sēpaiven-rāṇ-maṇḍapa* and repaired the *prākāra* which was thereafter called the *Kulaśēkharaṇ-tiruvīdi*. He then visited the holy *Vaishṇava* temples of *Tiruvēṅgaḍam*, *Tiruvayōdhyā*, *Tillai-Chitrakūṭam*, *Tirukkannapuram*, *Tirumālirunjōlai* and *Tiruviruvakkōḍu* and finally settled down at *Brahmadēśam* near *Tirukkurukūr*, the sanctified birth place of *Nammālvār*, where he shook off his mortal coil at the advanced age of sixty-seven. J

In the account extracted above from the orthodox versions of the life of the *Ālvār*, the chronological detail fixing the date of his birth in the beginning of the Kali era will not bear scrutiny and is, on the face of it, an absurd fib introduced by the later hagiographers to envelop their hero in a sacred halo of antiquity. The traditional limits for *Kulaśēkhara*'s period are *Nammālvār*, the famous saint of *Tirukkurukkūr* on the one hand, and *Tirumangaimaṇṇan*, who is considered as the last of the twelve *Vaishṇava* apostles on the other. Epigraphy furnishes for the later limit of the *Ālvār*'s time two records, one dated in the 18th year of the *Chōla* king *Kulōttuṅga I*³ (= A. D. 1088) which provided for the daily recital of the *Tēṭṭarundirai* (the second *Tirumoli*) in the *Śrīraṅgam* temple and another, somewhat earlier, belonging to the reign of the viceroy *Chōla-Kēraḷadēva*⁴ (A. D. 1050), according to which arrangement was made for a similar recital from the *Ālvār*'s work. Proceeding nearer, it has also been possible to arrive at a still earlier lower limit for *Kulaśēkhara* from a determination of the time of *Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār*,⁵ who has been found according to the latest researches to have flourished as a late contemporary of the *Pallava* king *Dantivarman* (A. D. 779-830) and possibly also during a few years of the reign of his successor *Nandivarman* (A. D. 830-54), in consideration of the saint's traditional long life of 105 years. It follows therefore that the *Chēra* Saint may have lived somewhere in the first half of the 9th century if *Nammālvār*,⁵ his predecessor, is assigned to the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century A. D., as has been done by some scholars.

The astronomical details of the date of birth of *Kulaśēkhara* furnished in the *Guruparamparas* which carry an air of genuineness about them on account of their smug completeness have been calculated by Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai

1 அஞ்சலெனக் குடப்பாம்பிலங்கையிட்டான் வாழியே.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI.

3 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 148. *Ancient India*, page 401: but the *Madras Epigl. Report* for 1900-refers only to *Tirumangai's Tirunedundāṇḍakam*.

4 *Tamiḻ varalāru*, p. 128.

5 *History of Vaiṣṇavism*, page 21.

to be equivalent to A. D. 767; but he has himself expressed the opinion¹ that these data have not the authenticity of contemporary observations, as they are often found to have been cooked up by retrospective calculations by the biographers who sketched out the Saint's lives at a later time. Their acceptance will therefore have to depend upon the confirmation received by other independent historical or literary evidence.

Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has attempted to fix the date of Kulaśekhara as A. D. 825 on the strength of an historical reference in one of the verses of the *Perumāḷ-Tirumōḷi*² which, according to his interpretation, is made to refer to the defeat and death of a Pallava king of Mallai (Mahāmallapuram) at the Chēra king's hands and of the fact that, as the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa I is also considered to have invaded the southern portion of the Pallava-dominions during the closing years of Dantivarman's reign (825) proceeding as far as Araiśūr in Tonḍaināḍu.³ Kulaśekhara may, in all probability, have distinguished himself in this campaign as a Pāṇḍya vassal. Although Kulaśekhara has been assigned to about the same period in this paper also, the correctness of the argument cited above may be examined. A recent writer in the *Sendamīḷ*⁴ has advanced a theory suggesting that the *sārrukkavis* tagged on to the end of the decades of verses of the *Ālvārs* need not necessarily be the composition of the respective authors, but may have been supplemented by later poets between the 10th and 12th centuries after the *Nālāyiraprabandham* was collated in its present anthological form; and that this view finds support in the fact that, at least in the *Perumāḷ-Tirumōḷi*, the self-laudation expressed in the final stanzas is not in general consonance with the spirit of humility and detachment pervading the other verses of the poems. For instance, the *bhakta* who would discard a regal life and rest content to be born a fish in the hill-springs of blessed Veṅgaḍam⁵ cannot be expected to call himself at the end of the same poem as a Kulaśekhara of a muderous javelin, or elsewhere, as the king who shone with a resplendent sword at the head of a terrific army, as the lord of the triple kingdom of Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya. If therefore the theory of interpolation can be accepted, the argument that Kulaśekhara has referred to his own achievement loses its weight as the line quoted is in the 11th verse of his 7th *Tirumōḷi*; but another writer in the same journal has criticised this view and has made a bold stand on the orthodox side. Leaving aside therefore this discussion about the real authorship of the *sārrukkavis* of the *Prabandham*, it may be noted that the line extracted for illustration does not admit of the historical interpretation suggested above. This *Tirumōḷi* of ten verses was intended

1 Chairman's remarks on same, page 54.

2 மல்லைமாநகர்க்குறையவன் தன்னே
வான் செலுத்தி வந்திங்களை மாயத்து
எல்லையில் பின்னே செய்வன காணத்
தெய்வத் தேவகி புலம்பிய புலம்பல்
கொல்லிகாவலன்-மாவுழமுடிமேல்
கோலமாம் குலசேகரன் சொன்ன
நல்லிசைத்தமிழ் மாவைல்லார்கள்
நன்னுவரர் ஒல்லைநரணனுலகே

— *Perumāḷ-Tirumōḷi*, VII. 11.

3 The *Pallavas* page 77.

4 *Sendamīḷ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 333-40, and pp. 429-42.

5 *Perumāḷ-Tirumōḷi*, IV, 2.

to express the rapture of Dēvakī at meeting her divine son, who had been separated from her during all these long years of her incarceration by her vengeful brother and who had now returned to her after an adventurous life of exile spent in Gōkula, culminating in the slaying of Kamsa himself in a boxing match at Mathurā. The fond mother yearningly, almost jealously, pictures to herself the pleasurable sight of all the lovable attractions and juvenile sports of Kṛṣṇa which was denied to her and Vasudēva, the real parents, but which was vouchsafed to the more fortunate pair Yaśōda and Nanda, the foster-parents at Nandavraja, with whom Kṛṣṇa had spent his eventful boyhood. Her pathetic catalogue of the Gōkula incidents, from the purely infantile pranks of Kṛṣṇa up to his youthful adventures with Gōvārdhanagiri, Vṛṣabhāsura, the serpent Kālīya and the demoness Pūtānā, ends with his final combat with the arch-enemy Kamsa himself; and the Ālvār therefore winds up the last verse saying that he versified in his own sweet style this dolorous lament of Dēvakī, which she may have naturally poured forth to Kṛṣṇa on the occasion of his first meeting her in prison after the death of the lord of Mallai. Mallai, the usual synonym for Mahāmalla-puram appears to have been used here to refer to Mathurā, Kamsa's capital, (Mallai-mānagaram = the prosperous city—of athletes?)¹. No defeat or death of a Pallava king seems therefore to have been hinted at in this verse. It may also be noted that Kulaśekhara has nowhere, in the other decades, exceeded the limit of the latter half of the final verses to embalm his name and titles; and even if this verse is taken as an exception to that rule, the interpretation put upon it is far-fetched, for the epithet 'who returned after killing the lord of Mallai' (மல்லையனாகர்க்கிறையவன் தன்னையான் செலுத்திவந்திங்கணை) has to be taken to qualify the incomparable Divine child² (மாயத்து எல்லையில் பிள்ளை) rather than Kulaśekhara, whose name occurs further on in the other half of the stanza and whose work was only the versification of this lament and nothing more. That Kṛṣṇa actually met his mother Dēvakī at Mathurā soon after the death of its tyrant-king, is described in the *Bhāgavatam* and is further referred to in the fourth verse of this poem, where Dēvakī says, கண்ணனே! . . . இளமையின்பத்தை இன்று என் தன் கண்ணாற்பருகுவேற்கு இவன் தாயென நீனைந்த அளவில்! If ஈங்குஅனை should refer to Kulaśekhara, who returned from his victorious battle to worship Kṛṣṇa in gratitude, it is inexplicable why the name of that Kṛṣṇa's temple is not specifically mentioned, as on the other occasions at Kannapuram, Chitrakūṭam and Virūvakkōḍu. The last verse of the 9th *Tirumoli* or Daśaratha's Lament² is also worded in a similar spirit and only its latter

1 It is interesting to note that Pillaipapperumāl Ayyangār makes use of the pun on the word Mallai = athletes and Mahāmalla-puram in the verse:—

செறிந்தபிணைபலித்துத் தின்கனிற்றைச் சாடி
முறிந்துவிழப்பாகையுமோதி—யெறிந்து
தருக்கடன்மல்லைக்குமைத்தான்றஞ்சமென்று நெஞ்சே
தருக்கடன்மல்லைக்குட்டிரி

But Kulaśekhara refers only to Mathur in his verse.

—*Narceṣṭutiruppati-ankūdi*, v. 93.

2 ஏரார்த்தகருநெடுமாவிராமனாய்
வனம்புக்க அதனுக்கு ஆற்ற
தாரார்த்த தடவரைத்தோன் தயரதன் தான்
புலம்பிய அப்புலம்பல் தன்னை
உரார்த்த வேல் வலவன் கோழியர் கோன்
குடைக் குலசேகரன் சொற்செய்த
ரோர்த்த தமிழ்மாலை-இவை வல்லார்
தினெறிக்கண் செல்லார்தாமே

—*Tirumoli*, IX. 11.

half has been reserved, as usual, for the inevitable colophon. The Pallava king Dantivarman whom Kulaśekhara is considered to have encountered in A. D. 825 is not also known to have died (வாண் டன்தி) at that time, as other records of his 49th and 51st years of reign have been found at Guḍimallam and Tirūchchānūr¹.

From the *Travancore State Manual*² we learn that in the beginning of the Kollam era a brahman-poet called Paṭṭattu Vāsudēva-Bhaṭṭāṭiri, who began life as a servant in the house of a priest, was miraculously instilled with the poetic muse by eating a few plantains given him by the god at Tiruvilakkāvu in Kēraḷa, and that he composed the two kāvyas, *Yudhisṭhiravijayam* and *Tripuradahanam*. In the Palace Library at Trivandrum are found the manuscripts of these two works which are stated to have been composed by a poet of the name of Vāsudēva. Of these the first work has been commented upon by a certain Chokkanātha and is available in the Palace Library, while another by the commentator, Rāghavakavi *alias* Śrīkanṭha, is also understood to exist; but the text has been published by the Nirnayasagara Press together with a third commentary of Rājānaka Ratnakanṭha, a poet who flourished in the time of the Mughal Emperor Aurangazib. From the latter fact and also because a manuscript of the work was discovered at Kashmir, its editor in the *Kāvyamālā Series*³ has hazarded the erroneous conjecture, that both the poet and the king whom he mentions may have belonged to Northern India. The other *kāvyā* called *Tripuradahanam*, which does not appear to have been published hitherto, is also from the pen of the same author, as will be shown in the sequel. In the first few verses⁴ of the *Yudhisṭhiravijayam*, the

1 Nos. 226 and 262 of the Madras Collection for 1903 and 1904.

2 *State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 427.

3 Introduction to *Yudhisṭhiravijayam* in the *Kāvyamālā Series*, No. 60.

काश्मीरमन्तरास्य काव्यस्य विरलप्रचारत्वेन काश्मीरिकावेवैतौ पार्थिवपण्डितौ भवेताम् । अत एव
अस्योपरि काश्मीरिकराजान्करकण्ठकृतैव व्याख्या समुपलब्धा ॥

- 4 अस्ति स गजराजगती राजवरो येन गतशुभराजगती ।
भीषणमधिकं कवयः स्तुवन्ति जन्य यदिमधिकं कवयः ॥ ४ ॥
तरवो भूरिच्छायाः समानफलदायिनी च भूरिच्छायाः ।
सविनयशोभा जनता यद्राज्ये यस्य भुवि यशो भाजनता ॥ ५ ॥
तस्य च वसुधामवतः काले कुलशेखरस्य वसुधामवतः ।
वेदानामध्यायी भारतगुहरभवदाथनामध्यायी ॥ ६ ॥
यं प्राप रमा चार्यं देवी च गिरां पुराणपरमाचार्यम् ।
यमशुभसन्तोदान्तं परमेश्वरमुपदिशन्ति सन्तोदान्तम् ॥ ७ ॥
ज्ञानसमग्रामेयं निवसन्तं विप्रसुप्तग्रामे यम् ।
तिलकं भूमावाहुर्यस्यार्थिषु दत्तभूतिभूमावाहुः ॥ ८ ॥
समजनि कश्चित्तस्य प्रवणशिष्योऽनुवर्तकश्चित्तस्य ।
काव्यानामालोके पटुमनसो वासुदेवनामा लोके ॥ ९ ॥
कीर्तिमद्भ्रां तेन स्मरता भारतमुधामद्भ्रान्तेन ।
जगदुपहासाय मिता पार्थक्या कल्मषापहा सा यमिता ॥ १० ॥

author says that he composed the work in the reign of a king called Kulaśekhara of elephant gait, who dispelled the sorrow of his subjects, whose terrible battle-fields were extolled by poets as hovered over by vultures, whose country abounded in shady trees and yielded bumper harvests, whose subjects were peace-loving and who was himself a fit repository of fame. In this reign there lived a devout teacher named Bhārataguru (an expounder of the *Bhārata* by profession?) well-versed in the Vēdas and a pet of both Lakshmi and Sarasvatī, who was considered a very Paramēśvara in his qualities (was he also called Paramēśvara?), who was of unfathomed knowledge, who lived in an *agrahāra* peopled by pious brahmins, who was called a *tilaka* (by pāndits) and whose hands bestowed extensive gifts of lands to the needy. To such a preceptor who delighted in perusing good *kāvya*s, Vāsudēva became a willing disciple and with the idea of acquiring undying fame, he whose mind was steeped in the Bhārata lore composed in the *yamaka* style the story of Pārtha (Yudhishthira) anticipating, however, the world's ridicule.

In the *Mukundamālā* which is admitted on all hands to be the composition of the Chēra king Kulaśekhara-varman *alias* Kulaśekhara-Ālvār, the last verse is found as follows in all the hitherto printed editions :—

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतधरौ कविलोकगीतौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मपरिवारशिवावभूताम् ।
तेनाम्बुजाक्षचरणाम्बुजषट्पदेन
राज्ञा कृता स्तुतिरियं कुलशेखरेण ॥

But the manuscript of an annotated copy of the same poem, discovered by Mr. S. Paranesvara Ayyar M. A., B. L., M. R. A. S. of Trivandrum, offers the following reading for the first half of that verse:

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतिधरौ रविलोकवीरौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपारदावभूताम् ।

and this is explained in the commentary in the sense that a (Nambūdiri) brahman called Ravi and a *pārasava*, a member of the *vāriyar*-caste known by the name or title of Lōkavīra were the friends of the royal author¹. The *Tripuradahana* which is written in the same *yamaka* style as its sister-poem the *Yudhishthiravijaya* and which may, on this single argument, be pronounced to be the work of the same author has this piece of information to give, *viz.*, that it was composed by the son of Ravi²; and its commentator, a certain Nilakantha (c. 13th century) has also identified this रविभूः with Vāsudēva himself³. It is also quite appropriate that

1 Some other scholars find in this verse an implied reference to Kulaśekhara's contemporaries, the brahman devotee Tonḍeraḍipōḍi and the *pārasava* Tiruppāṇālvār; and quote also 'ஆடிப்பாடி அரங்காவே! என்றழைக்கும் தொண்டரடிப்போடி, ஆட்களும் பெறில் கங்கைகீர் குடைந்தாடும் வேட்கை' என்னுடையதே (II, 3) but the reference is by no means conclusive.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has द्विजन्मवरपञ्चरावभूताम् and *Bṛhatstotra-muktāhara* has कविलोकवीरौ मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपौश्वरौवभूताम् ।

2 मतिबलमासाद्य मितं पुरदहनं रविभुवा समासाद्यमितम्

—*Tripuradahana*.

3 त्रिपुरदहनसंज्ञं काव्यमेतद्विधातुं कविरथ रविसूनुर्वाधुदेवाभिदानः ।

निरुपमचरितेन स्वच्छमीशानसंज्ञं नतजनहितदं तं स्तौति विघ्नातिभीतः ॥ —Nilakantha's commentary.

poet Vāsudēva should have dedicated his *Yudhishthiravijayam*, a Vaishṇava composition, to Kulaśekhara the great Vaishṇava bhakta and the author of the *Mukundamālā* and *Tirumoli*.

It is therefore reasonable to identify king Kulaśekhara who has been glorified in the *Yudhishthiravijayam* by Vāsudēva, son of Ravi, with Kulaśekhara-Ālvār, the author of the *Mukundamālā* and the friend of Ravi and to assign the royal saint and the poet Vāsudēva to the beginning of the Kollam era.

Two dramas of the names of *Tapatīsamvaranāṃ*¹ and *Subhadrādhanañ-jayam*² published as Nos. XI and XIII of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series are found to be the works of a king named Kulaśekharavarman, who styles himself as the lord of Mahodayapura, (Kodungōlur to the north of Cochin) and the crest-jewel of the Kēraḷa dynasty. It is learnt that he was also the author of an earlier prose work called the *Āścharyamañjarī*³. From the spirit of sincere devotion to god Viṣṇu that pervades the two dramas and from the similarity of ideas expressed in the *bharaṭavākya* and some other stanzas of these works with those in the *Mukundamālā*, the inference has been drawn by scholars⁴ that the two authors, who were both of them kings called Kulaśekhara were identical; and as the *Mukundamālā* is the production of the Kēraḷa king Kulaśekhara who was later on canonised as an Ālvār, the two dramas have also been considered as the works of the Vaishṇava saint. In a verse generally attributed to Rājasekhara,⁵ who may be the same as the author of *Bālarāmayanāṃ* etc., who flourished in the first half of the 10th century, some well-deserved eulogy is bestowed on the merits of Kulaśekhara's *Āścharyamañjarī*; and from this, the lower limit of the latter author was fixed in the beginning of the 9th century, allowing a somewhat long interval for his work to earn such popularity in the distant north. The omission of the name of the preeminent dramatist Bhavabhūti (the contemporary of Avantivarman 693-729) from the list of the *Mahākavis* Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Harsha and Dandin to whom Kulaśekhara pays the due homage of reference in his *Tapatīsamvaranāṃ* has also been taken to point to the conclusion that Kulaśekhara must have lived at a time when Bhavabhūti's fame had not penetrated into the southern corner of India, i.e., in all probability about the first half of the 9th century A. D. or earlier. From these facts, the argument for assigning this king to a much later

1 तस्य राज्ञः केरळचूडामणेरुहोदयपुरपरमेश्वरस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणः कृतिरियमधुना प्रयोगविषयमवतरति ।

—*Tapatīsamvaranāṃ*.

2 तपतीसंवरणघटनापठुतरस्य राज्ञः कलमराक्षिपेशलकैदारिकेरळाधिनाथस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणो निजनिबन्ध-
नमय बध्नाति बुधहृदयम् ।

—*Subhadrādhanañjayam*.

3 यस्य परमहंसपादपंकेरुहपासुपटलपवित्रकृतमुकुटतटस्य वसुधाविबुधधनान्धकारमिहिरायमाणकरकमलस्य
मुखकमलादगल् आश्चर्यमञ्जरीकथामधुद्रवः ।

—*Tapatīsamvaranāṃ*.

4 Introduction to the *Tapatīsamvaranāṃ* in the *Triv. Sanskrit Series*.
Archæological Report for 1096 M. E.
Bhāṣapōṣhinī for 1917.

5 दूरादपि सतां चित्ते लिखित्वाश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ।

कुलशेखरवर्माभ्यां चकाराश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ॥

—Rājasekhara in *Saktīmuktāvāṇī*.

6 शङ्करकालिदासहर्षदण्डिप्रमुखाणां महाकवीनामन्यस्य कस्य कवेरिदं निबन्धनम् । —*Tapatīsamvaranāṃ*.

date on the strength of a doubtful(?) reference to Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpa*¹ considered to have been made by Sumati (?), a Nambudiri brahman of Paramēśvara-maṅgalam, who was a contemporary of Kulaśekhara and who wrote the two commentaries called *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* on the two dramas under the supervision of and with suggestions received from the royal author himself, has also been contested; and it has been suggested² that a later scribe of the particular manuscript may have been responsible for the insertion in the commentary of this supplementary note quoting from *Daśarūpa*.

All the arguments noted above do not appear to be unreasonable, but in addition to them the following points may have also to be given some consideration, before the two dramas can be definitely attributed to the saint-king of the 9th century. ✓The author of the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* has given king Kulaśekhara's personal opinion on the merits of his own dramas in the following verse:—

ध्वनियुक्ताव्यसरणिः शस्तेति प्रोच्यते बुधैः ।
एतस्माद् ध्वनियुक्ता सा रचिता नाटकद्वयी ॥

which is almost an echo of the dictum laid down by Ānandavardhana (A. D. 880) in the opening line of his *Dhvanyāloka viz.*, काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्यः समाम्नातपूर्वः । ; and the dramas may therefore be presumed to be posterior and to be permeated with that requisite which gives the necessary life to a good composition.

In the fifth act of the *Tapatīsamvaranāṁ* occurs a verse³ where the love-lorn king is made to say that the sun sheds coolnectarprays on him and then to request a passing cloud (apostrophised as *Akālajalada*) not to trouble the friendly sun (*Ravi-maṇḍalam*) even for a moment. From the way in which these two verses are put into the context it looks as if the author wanted to convey in this description a hidden reference to some current political event; but in cases of this type where much has to depend upon the hypothetical interpretation of particular verses one cannot afford to be dogmatic. If, however, *Akālajalada* can be taken to be a synonym for *Akālavarsha*, we know that it was a title borne by three Rāshtrakūta kings of the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries A. D. viz., Kṛishṇa I (A. D. 750), Kṛishṇa II (A. D. 888-911), the contemporary of the Chēra king Sthāṇu-Ravi and the Chōḷa Aditya, and Kṛishṇa III (937-67), the contemporary probably of the Chera king Indu-Kōḍai and his immediate predecessor and of the Chōḷa kings, Parāntakas I and II. In the two latter cases, the troubling of the Ravi-maṇḍalam may be taken to refer either to an anticipated invasion of the kingdom (*maṇḍalam*) of Sthāṇu-Ravi or of Chōḷa Āditya or to the temporary occupation of the territory of the Chōḷas (*Solar* dynasty) by Kṛishṇa III, who took Kanchi killing the Chōḷa prince Rāj-āditya at the battle of Takkōlam in A. D. 947.⁴ If the first significance was intended, Kulaśekhara should be considered to have composed the drama before

1 Introduction to *Tapatīsamvaranāṁ*, p. 4.

2 *Bhāṣāpoṣhīni*, for 1917.

3 हा कष्टमकालजलदः पापीयानां शुमालिनं तिरोधत्ते । भो भोः सौदमनीवल्लभ !

लास्यारम्भप्रविततशिखानर्पयन्तं कलापान् केकापूरप्रचितकुहरां ऋन्धरां द्राघयन्तम् ।

त्वं प्रेक्षस्व प्रणयविवदाः प्रेमवन्तं मयूरं मा भूमेध ! क्षणमपि रवेर्मण्डलस्योपरोधी ॥ - V. 11.

4 *Hist. Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 229.

perhaps he had himself abdicated the throne according to the custom of Kēraḷa and Sthāṇu-Ravi had already been anointed as king. As the latter king is known from his famous copper-plate grants and the Tillaisthānam record to have been living in about A. D. 880, Kulasekhara, his predecessor, may have to be located in the first half of the 9th century between about A. D. 830 and 850 and can then be identified with the Ālvār, who has been stated above to belong to this period; but unfortunately there is no epigraphical authority for stating that a Rāshtrakūṭa invasion of Kēraḷa or of the Chōḷa dominions was threatened in the reign of Kṛishṇa II—Akāḷavarsha. If, however, the second interpretation be accepted, the royal author of the two dramas may be considered to have been a predecessor of Indu-Kōḍaivarman who has been tentatively assumed to have begun his reign in A. D. 955, and a successor of Vijayarāgadēva who was only a prince in about A. D. 880. This was a period when cordial feelings prevailed among the three powers of the South who had made common cause for the total extinction of the main Pallava line which ended with the defeat of Aparājita at the hands of the Chōḷa Āditya I at the end of the 9th century. Sthāṇu-Ravi was the friend and ally of Āditya I, and princess Nīlī, the daughter of Vijayarāgadēva who must have succeeded Sthāṇu on the Chēra throne, figures as a donor to the Tiruvorriyūr temple (Chingleput District) in a record of Parāntaka I dated in A. D. 935. Parāntaka was himself connected with the Chēra dynasty by marriage as his queens one of whom was Kōkḷānādigaḷ, the mother of prince Rājāditya, were Chēra princesses; but it is not known if one of these or another lady was the daughter of the Kēraḷa chief Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, whom the Chōḷa king is also said to have married. Parāntaka (Vīra-Chōḷa) and his queen are known to have been donors to the Tiruvalla temple in the Travancore State.

This location of Kulasekhara between the years 935 and 955 does not, however, necessarily preclude the possibility of the northern poet Rājasekhara being able to refer to the former author's *Āscharyamañjarī*, which was assuredly the first of his productions; only the interval is rather short, which may also account for the possibly contemporary (?) tone of the testimony of Rājasekhara in his appreciative stanza. It also renders it probable that the royal author was tempted to compose his dramas as *dhvaniyuktā* on a perusal of the *Dhvanyāloka*, the strong advocate of the employment of *dhvani* in compositions, which was at that time quite a recent critical work on Rhetoric. The only point that clashes with these surmises is the omission of the name of Bhavabhūti in the list of poets mentioned by Kulasekhara; but it has to be supposed that the list was not exhaustive, and that the royal author mentioned in a haphazard fashion only a few of his predecessors in the realm of poetics. That there was at least one Chēra king by the name of Kulasekhara anterior to Indu-Kōḍaivarman is proved by the fact that the father-in-law of Vijayarāgadēva was a certain Kulasekharadēva and it is

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 76-7.

2 " Vol. III, p. 162.

3 *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 236.

4 *T. A. S.*, Vol. III, p. 162.

5 *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 141.

6 *T. A. S.* Vol. IV, p. 144.

possible that the successor of Vijayarāga was also another Kulaśekhara, named after this maternal grandfather. All these are, no doubt, probable guesses to show that the author of the two dramas need not necessarily be equated with the saint-king of the same name, unless there are more convincing arguments in favour of that identification.

The following tentative list of the Chēra kings may for the present be drawn up, subject however to such corrections as future finds may render necessary:—

| Name. | Approximate dates. |
|---|--------------------|
| Rājaśekhara-dēva (whose copper-plate record is attributable to the beginning of the 9th century, and who was a contemporary of the great Śaṅkara) | 800-825 |
| Kulaśekhara-varman <i>alias</i> Kulaśekhara-Ālvār, (the author of <i>Mukundamālā</i> and <i>Tirumoli</i>) | 825-850 |
| Rāma (of <i>Tripuradchana Śaurikathōdaya</i> and <i>Nalōdaya</i>) | 850-870 |
| Sthānu-Ravi (of Kottayam-plates and Tillaisthānam record) | 870-900 |
| Vijayarāga-dēva (the heir-apparent in the Kottayam plates) | 900-935 |
| Kulaśekhara-varman (the author of the two dramas) | 935-955 |
| Indu-Kōdaivarman (latest regnal year 16) | 955-971 |
| Bhāskara-Ravivarman (latest regnal year 58) | 978-1036 |
| Ravi-Rāma Kulaśekhara-Chakravarti | 1089-1102 |

*E. J.—Pillar Inscriptions in the same temple.

Inscriptions E to J which are engraved on the pillars of the *śurru-maṇḍapa*, or covered circumambulatory passage round the central shrine of the temple register simply the names of their respective donors; and they are all of them dated on the same day when the temple was renovated, namely Kollam year 782, Chitrai 6.

E

On a pillar in the śurru-maṇḍapa.

| | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1 என் அயிலே (நடு) | 6 வர் கொயிலில் |
| 2 சத்திரை மீ ம சு | 7 தரனத்தாரில் மெ- |
| 3 உ உ ர த்துண | 8 ச்செரி தெவன் |
| 4 செய்வித்த கெ- | 9 திருவிக்கிரமன் |
| 5 ரளபுரத்து மாதெ- | 10 சதா செவை- |

1 T. A. S., Vol. III, p. 173, 181.

2 [E, F, H, G, J, —These are registered as Nos. 58 to 62 respectively of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.]

F

On another pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------|----|--------------|
| 1 | எள அயிலு னு சித்தி- | 6 | பாக்காமங்கல- |
| 2 | ரை மீர் கூஉ | 7 | ம் தெசத்து |
| 3 | சித்திரகண்ட- | 8 | இச்சுவரன் |
| 4 | ம் உருத்தூண் | 9 | கொதை ச |
| 5 | செய்வித்தான் | 10 | தாசெவை- |

G

On a third pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|----|---------------------|
| 1 | எள அயிலு னு சி- | 6 | வகைக்கு பறக்ை- |
| 2 | த்திரைமீர் கூஉ உ- | 7 | கயில் வளத்துரு- |
| 3 | ருத்தூண் செய்- | 8 | வாக்கும் பெருமான் |
| 4 | வித்த தானகண்- | 9 | திருவாழ் மாற்[ப*]ன் |
| 5 | க்கு அய்யப்பன் ² அய்யப்பன் | 10 | சதாசெவை- |

H

On a fourth pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| 1 | எள அயிலு னு சித்தி- | 4 | த்தூண் செய்வித்த |
| 2 | ரைமீர் கூஉ சித்தி- | 5 | விஸ்வூர் தெசத்து |
| 3 | கண்டம் உரு | 6 | கணக்கு ² அய்யப்பன் இரவி |
| | | 7 | சதாசெவை |

I

On a fifth pillar.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1 | எள அயிலு னு சித்- | 5 | பாலைக்கொடு |
| 2 | திரை மாதம் கூஉ | 6 | தெசத்து கணக்கு ² |
| 3 | செவித்த ¹ கண்- | 7 | பாப்பன் பாப்பன் |
| 4 | டம் உருத்தூண் | 8 | சதாசெவை |

J

On a sixth pillar.

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|----|---------------------------------|
| 1 | எள | 11 | ய திருப்பணி கணக்கு ² |
| 2 | அயிலு | 12 | எழுத்துப்பணி |
| 3 | னு சி- | 13 | செய்விக்கையு- |
| 4 | த்திரை | 14 | ம் செய்கையில் உரு- |
| 5 | மீர் ம் கூ- | 15 | த்தூண் செய்வி- |
| 6 | உ ராசரா- | 16 | த்த திருப்பன் றிப்பா- |
| 7 | சப்ப- | 17 | க்கத்து பெரு ² மான் |
| 8 | ள்ளி. | 18 | சிவனடியான் |
| 9 | நாராயணன் ² | 19 | சதாசெவை |
| 10 | சங்கரன் ஆளா- | | |

1 The word சித்திர has been omitted.

2 These words are all expressed by symbols.

No. 31—Krishnankoyil record of Kollam 887.¹

This Tamil inscription which is engraved on the walls of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine of the Kṛṣṇasvāmin temple at Krishnankōyil, a suburb of Kēraḷapuram, is dated in the Kollam year 887 and the astronomical details furnished in it give the English equivalent A. D. 1711, August 6.

It records that certain lands were given by a private individual called Silayāpillai-Ariyakutti to the temples of Kṛṣṇa-viṇṇavar-Emberumāṇ and Kulaśekhara-Vināyakapillaiyār at Ravipuram which were constructed about Kollam 830, when Naviṇār (king) Ravi-Ravivarman *alias* Śiṛaivāymūṭṭa-Tambirāṇār was the reigning king and that the donor secured from the king certain tax exemptions for these lands. This document was engraved on stone from the original copper-plate record by a descendant of the donor named Setṭu Velāyuda-perumāḷ residing in the street (*perunderuvu*) called the 'Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśekhharapperumāḷ-perunderuvu' of Tiruvidāṅgōḍu (a town) in Malai-maṇḍalam, in the Kollam year 887.

It is noteworthy that the suburb which grew around the nucleus of the temple was known as Ravipuram and that the Vināyaka was also named Kulaśekhara-Vināyakapillaiyār in honour of the king, to whose charitable disposition the two temples owed certain privileges.

Text.

- 1 சகர்த்தம் கதகாநயந் ன் மெல் செல்-
- 2 லாநின்ற கொல்லம் அராமேஸ்வர ஆவணி
- 3 மீர் நூல் சென்ற திங்களாட்சையும் உத்திரமு-
- 4 ம் பூறுவபக்கமுத்து திருதிகையும் ஆணைக்காணமும்
- 5 சாத்தரித்தியயொகமும் பெற்ற இன்னாளால் மலை-
- 6 மண்டலத்து திருவிதாங்கொட்டு இரவிவன்ம-
- 7 ராய குலசெகரப்பெருமாள் பெருந்தெருவில்-
- 8 ச் செட்டு வெலாயுதப்பெருமாள் தம்பிராந்தொழுவன-
- 9 ன் என் காரணவன் கிலையாபிள்ளை அரி-
- 10 யகுட்டி முன்-செய்யூரில் கொவிலும் கெட்டிவி-
- 11 த்து நயினார் இரவிபுரத்து ஸ்ரீ கிட்டிண விண்-
- 12 ணவ ரென்பெருமானையும் தெய்வகொவிலில் வ-
- 13 டக்கேயிடத்தில குலசெகரவினாயகப்பிள்ளை-
- 14 யாரையும் கற்ப்பகத்துப்பொற்றியைக் கொண்டு
- 15 பிறதிட்டையும் செய்வித்து கலைசுருமாடிவித்து
- 16 தெய்வநயினாருக்கும் பிள்ளையாருக்கும் பூசை நமக்-
- 17 காரம் அத்தாளம் முத்தாளம் வைச்ச நெய்-
- 18 வெத்தியும் வகக்கு நாளொன்றுக்கு ஆகிய உரி
- 19 ஆக புகைக்கு ஆகிய உரி பருகுக்கு ரு உவித
- 20 ம் நாநாநு பள்ளு உரி ம் தெய்வநயினாருக்கு மாதவி
- 21 செஷம்-ஆட்டைவிசெஷம் வகக்குப் படி-
- 22 த்தரத்தின்படி உள்ள செலவும் சாந்தியுடை-

1 This is registered as No. 64 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

- 23 மக்கு ஸம் க க்கு எ- ளளப னு ஷெ கொவில்-
 24 ச் சன்னதிலில் கிராமக்காரர் உடமையும்
 [இதுவும் இதுக்கடுத்த தெக்குமதிலிலும் பார்க்கவும்]

Second panel.

- 25 சங்குத்து நீராட்டுப்பள்ளி மத்தளம் கைமணி வகக்குப் படித்தரத்தின்ப-
 டி உள்ள சொறு நிக்கி ஸம் க க்கு உட-
 26 மை எ- களப ப ந உரிம் நாகசரம் ஒத்து வகக்கு ஸம் க க்கு உடமை
 எ களப ம் கோதை மகள் வள்ளி உள்-
 27 ளிட்டாரும் குமரை மகள் ஆவிடை உள்ளிட்டாரும் தானுமை மகள் நா-
 கர உள்ளிட்டாரும் ஆக முறை
 28 க்குடி முந்துக்குப் படித்தரத்தின்ப படி உள்ள சொறு நீக்கி ஸம் க க்கு
 எ டிய ம் ஷெ கொவிலுக்கு தெ-
 29 க்குக் கல்மடமும் கெட்டிவித்து உமையொருபாகப்பிள்ளையாரையும் எழு-
 ந்தருழிச்சு உ-
 30 மையொருபாக முதலியாரைக் கொண்டு கலசமுமாடிவித்து ஷெ பிள்ளை-
 யாருக்கு நாளொ-
 31 ன்றுக்கு வைத்து நெய்வெத்தியம் ஆ ஊர் ஆக ஸம் க்கு ஆ டிடை க்கு
 எ டப ம் நந்தவனம் திருமலை
 32 கெட்டு வகக்கு ஷெ மடத்திலிருக்கிற பண்டாரத்துக்கு ஸம் க க்கு உட
 மை எ களப ம் ஷெ மடத்தில் நி-
 33 த்தியல் திருப்பெருக்கு அமுதுகொடுக்கிற வகக்கு தன்மபத்தர் உடமை-
 யும் கணக்கு உடமையும் பல-
 34 வெலை உடமையும் மற்றும் பலசெலவுக்கும் முன் எழுதிவைத்த பட்டை-
 யத்தின்படி உள்ள எ-
 35 வக செலவுக்கும் அவிழைக கட்டிலை திருவிளக் கெண்ணை மாதவிசேஷம்
 ஆட்டவிசேஷம்
 36 மற்றும் பலவக செலவுக்கும் கூட விச்சவபூறுவ தன்மதானப் பிறமாண-
 மாக முன் எழுதிவை-
 37 த்த பட்டையத்தின்படி உள்ள நிலமும் புரையெடமுமாவது [1*] முன்
 அளநயவூ வைகாசி மீ யகவ நயி-
 38 னர் இரவி இரவிவற்றமராய சிறவாய்முத்த தம்பிரான் திருவுள்ளம் பற்றிக்
 கல்ப்பித்த நளி ஷெ கிட்டிணனுக்குப் பிள்ளையா-
 39 ருக்கும் பூசை உள்பட்ட வகக்கு ஷெ சிலையாபிள்ளை அரியகுட்டிக்குக்
 கொடுத்த திருமுகத்தின்படி அஞ்சாலி மெ-
 40 ல்வாரம் ஒழிந்த நிலமாவது [1*] நாஞ்சினாட்டு வடசெரியில் இராசராச-
 பெரெரிக்குளத்தின் கீள் நீராகரம் சிதம்ப-
 41 ரனாதன் புள்ளியில் பெரியமடைப்பொக்கு தெக்கு மெடு முதல்-கண்ணாறு
 நெல்மாரி ஷெ ம-
 42 டைப்பொக்கில் கைதறைக்கால் முதல் கண்ணாறு கைதறை ஆக ஷெபுள்-
 ளியில் தடி
 43 பண்டாரம் பணியறை ஆன . . . புள்ளியில் ஷெ மடை வடக்கு மெடு
 இரண்டாங் கண்ணாறு சாலியன் வய-

- 44 ல் கிகு அநகபம் இசுவான் காளி புள்ளியில் வடக்கு மடை பத்துமசக்-
கால் தடிகு ம கடுக்கரையில் அரியகுட்டி
- 45 இரவி புள்ளியில் புதுக்குளத்தில் கிள்மெல் மடைப்பொக்கு தடிகு
நிலம் . . . ல் . . உளக்கால் தடி
- 46 கஉ III நகூர் உ கூ III ம உ ம் குறி தடிகு . .
. II ம் ம் சொனை-
- 47 மாம்பள்ளி புள்ளியில் குறி தடிகு . எத I III ம் உ
. ம உ நிலம் ம் உ எகூ II
- 48 கப ம் கிழப் புதுச்சை தடிகு சு உல் றும் உ கூ உல் றும் ஆக புள்ளி
உக்கு ம் இ-
- 49 லுப்பைக் காடெரிக்குளத்தின்சில தடி பலநிலம் . . ம் பிளாக்கொட்டைவி-
ளையும் ஸுத திரு-
- 50 த்து தடி பல உ விசகூ கொளை ஆற்றக்கொணம் தடி பல . . சகம் I (வ-
டக்குப்பிறததில் வடக்குமதிலில் பார்க்கவும்)

Third panel.

- 51 ஆக வடசெரிசடுக்கரை உள்ப்பட்ட தடி பல க்கு அஞ்சா-
லியும்
- 52 மெல்வாரமும் ஸுழிந்து ஷெ கிட்டிண விண்ணவரென்பெருமான் கொவி-
லில்
- 53 சீகாரியம் சீபண்டாரம் தானம் தவைக்கு உள்ப்பட ஆசெந்திரதாரவெ
சந்திரா-
- 54 தித்தவரைக்கும் செட்டுச்சிலையாபிள்ளை அரியகுட்டி கிருமுகம் வெண்டி-
க்காய் ஷெ நில-
- 55 நகனிலுள்ள பாட்டமும் மலைனுட்டில் கொதைநல்லூர்ப்பற்றில் பிராயறை-
க்குளத்தின் கி-
- 56 மும் தும்பட்டறைக்குளத்தின் கீழும் பாக்கமங்ஙலத்து குளத்தின் கீழும்
கழனி தடிகு நுபம்
- 57 தும்பட்டறைக்குளத்தின் கீழும் பாக்கமங்ஙலத்துக் குளத்தின் கீழும் கா-
ரைக்காய் வட்டம்
- 58 தடி க நிலம் சபம் பாக்கமங்ஙலத்து குளத்தின்கிள் கழத்தடிநிலம் கூபம்
பிலாழுட்டுப் பறம்பு தடி
- 59 நிலம் ஷெ உக்கு மெக்குப் புதுக்குழியும் பிராயறைக்குளத்தின் கீழ் பிரா-
பறை தடி நிலம் நுபம் மாத்த-
- 60 றை தடி நிலம் உபம் ஆக்கறைக்குளத்தின் கீள் வெள்ளக்கொள்ளி தடிகு
சபம் உக்காடு தடிகு நுபம்
- 61 மாம்பறைக்குளத்தின் கீழ் மாம்பறை தடிகு கூபம் சபன்குழி தடிகு ப
நுஉம் மொகூர்த்துட-
- 62 வயல் தடிகு நுபம் கொழிஞ்ஞித்துடவயல் தடிகு கூபம் இளையநயினாக்-
குளத்தின் கீள் தலத்தடி
- 63 தடிகு கூபம் கொழியுண்ணி தடிகு நுபம் மொங்ஙாத்துடவயல் தடிகு நு
பம் பறம்புக்குழிக்கு-

- 64 ளத்தாலும் கொற்றலைக்குளத்தாலும் மாவடி தடிகு சபம் கொற்றலைக்கு-
ளத்தாலும் புதிச்சைக்குள-
- 65 த்தாலும் பனையடி தடிகு உபம் நெடுங்குளத்தின் கீழ் பழங்குளத்திற்கு-
ண்டம் தடிகு நபம் பெ-
- 66 ருங்குளத்தின் கீழ் மாணங்காணி தடிகு நபம் கொழிப்பறம்பு தடிகு ச-
பம் பால தடிகு
- 67 ருபம் அத்தியடி தடிகு நபம் புதுக்குளத்தாலும் ஆறத்துக்குளத்தாலும்
கண்ணுக்குறிச்சி-
- 68 தடிகு உபம் பெருஞ்சிலம்பில் இடைச்சிறைக் குளத்தாலும் கல்லையா-
லும் வாழைக்காய்த்துட-
- 69 வயல் தடிகு ருபம் குழவிமுலைக்குளமும் ஷே கோணம் நெலம்பாக்கொ-
ட்டு வண்ணார்-
- 70 குளத்தின் கீழ் மணவாழகொட்டமும் வாலமும் தடிகு சபம் ஷேல் ஆழ-
ங்கொட்டக்குளத்தின்
- 71 கீழ் நெக்கொட்டையடி தடிகு பம் ஷேல் இழவன்குழமும் அந்நுவறிக்-
குழமும் ஷே கோணம் தடி பல நிலம்
- 72 ஆக மலைநாட்டு வகவத்து கெட்டைப் பொக்கி உள்ள பாட்டவும் பாக்கொ-
ட்டு பெருங்குளத்தின் கீழ் மாவடி தடிகு
- 73 நப க்கு உள்ள கடமையும் கொட்டாற்று பெருமாள் அண்ணாவி அஞ்சா-
லி மெல்வார மொழிந்து தானம்
- 74 வெண்டின புளியறை தடி உக சாக்கு உள்ள பாட்டவும் குளச்சையில்
பெற்றாள் விளாகம் புறையி-

Fourth panel.

- 75 டத்துக்கும் நெய்யூர் அஞ்சாலிவிளாகம் பு-
ரையடத்துக்கும் கடமை நீக்கி உள்ள பாட்டமும் ச-
- 77 வாயி கொவிலிச்ச சன்னதிக்கிராமத்து மனை-
யும் வால்விச்சம் பாண்டாரப்பிள்ளை இசுவரன் தெவ-
- 78 ன் வக மணக்கொட்டைக்கு கீழ்மெல் இராச-
பெருவழிக்கும் தென்வடல்ப் பெருவழிக்கும்
- 81 கிராமத்து வால்விச்சக்கும் நடுவில் மனைக-
ளும் விளாகங்களும் தென்வடல் பெருவ-
- 83 ழிக்கும் கீழ்மெல் இராசபெருவழிக் கம காணிப்-
பொட்டு அப்பலத்துக்கு தனது வக விளை-
- 85 க்கும் ஆக கல்லன் விளைக்கும் கல்மடத்துக்கும் நடுவில்
மனைகளும் விளாகங்களும் பிச்சப்பிள்ளை-
- 87 யார் கொவில் விளாகவும் கின்றயடிவி-
ளாகவும் திருவிதாங்கொட்டுத் தென்
- 89 வடக்கடையில் மெக்குச்சிறவில் கடை அம் ஷே-
யிள்களக்குச்சிற வல் கடை கூம் ஆக தெவன்
- 91 விளைக்கு மெற்கு குறவன் விளாகத்துக்கும் கீழ்மெல்
இராசபெருவழிக்கும் தென்வடல் இராசபெ-
- 93 ருவழிக்கும் நாயகபட்டர் விளைகளுக்கும் தாணுவி-
ளாகத்துக்கும் நடுவில் விளைகளும் கொவி-

- 95 ல்மதிலுக்கும் அந்து வறிகொணத்துக்கும் கிழ்மெ-
 96 மல் இராசபெருவழிக்கும் நாயக்கப்பட்டர் வி-
 97 னைகளுக்கும் தானுவினைகளுக்கும் பண்டாரப்பிள்ளை
 98 விக்மிரமன் சங்கரன் வினைகளுக்கும் (மகர-
 99 தொறணவிளக்குக்கு தெக்குமதிலில் பாக்கவும்)

Fifth panel.

- 100 ஊரான பெருவழிக்கும் நடுவில் வினையனும் தென்வ-
 101 டல் ப்பெருவழிக்கும் வண்ணுள் குளத்துக்கும் அந்துறிகொ-
 102 ணத்துக்கும் பண்டாரப்பிள்ளை விக்மிரமன் சங்கரன் வினையனும் ந-
 103 டுவில் வினையனும் தொப்பும் நந்தாவனமும் அதின் கி-
 104 முக்குத்துண்டுவினைக்கும் ஆக இவ்வகைக்குள்ள பாட்ட-
 105 வும் வெண்டி பூசை உள்ப்பட்ட சிலவும் நடத்திக்-
 106 காள்ள சிலையாபிள்ளை அரியகுட்டி விட்டுக்க-
 107 காடுத்த வக இதுவும் செட்டு பிச்சையார் அணைஞ்சபெருமாள்
 108 முத்தாளம் பூசைக்கும் நமக்காரத்துக்கும் நாள் க-க்கு அரி
 109 நனஅ ஆக ௫ம் க-க்கு ௭ கள ஆக ௫ம் க-க்கு ௭ கள-க்கு வி-
 110 ட்டுக் கொடுத்த வக கடுக்கரையில் குறி தடி கூ
 111 க்கு அகப்பற்று உ-க்கு உள்ள மெல்வாரவும் ஷெயில் கடு-
 112 க்கரைப் பள்ளம் தடிகுவரளத 11 . . க்கு அகப்பற்று
 113 மெல்வாரமும் அரளம் ஒரு கொண்ட அந்தநபுரத்து
 114 நெட்டையினுள் குளமும் ஷெ கொண்டம் மடிகு.
 115 அஞ்சாவி மெல்வாரம் பொக்கியுள்ள பாட்ட;
 116 வும் அய்ளநு ஆவணி மீம் நுவு செட்டு வெலாயுதப்-
 117 பெருமாள் தம்பிராத்தொழன் விட்டுக்கொ-
 118 டுத்த வக வடசெரியில்க் கரையும் கடுக்கரையில் கை-
 119 ரயும் காணியாட்சையும் ஷெயில் குளவும் பணையடிக்க-
 120 காணத்துக்குளவும் ஆக இவ்வகைகளுக்கு உள்ள நெ-
 121 ல் பணவகையை வெண்டி பூசையுள்ப-
 122 ட்ட சிலவுகள் ஏறப்பெரும் நடத்திக் கொள்ளவும்
 123 ஆக இந்தவகை ஏறப்பெரும் ஷெ கொவில் தம்மபத்தாவும்
 124 ஷெ கொவில் சன்னதி கிராமத்து மாசனங்களும் கூடி
 125 ஸ்சாரித்துக் கொள்ளுவாராகவும் இந்த தம்மத்துக்கு அ-
 126 கிதம் செய்த பெர் கெங்கைசு கரையிலே காராம் பச-
 127 வைக் கொந்த பாபத்தில் பொவாராகவும் இந்த தம்மம் பரி-¹

No. 32—Vadaseri Copper-plate of Kollam 945.

The subjoined Tamil record is engraved in the Tamil alphabet on both sides of a single copper-plate, which has been kept as exhibit No. 10 in the Napier Museum, Trivandrum. The plate measures 10½" by 6¾" exclusive of a semi-circular projection at the middle on the top of the plate, which contains the Vaisnavita triple emblem, a Tenkalai caste-mark flanked on either side by the *śaṅkha*

1 The further lines which will have mentioned the merit of those who protected the charity are not traceable on the walls of the *manḍapa*.

and the *chakra*. The writing is in a good state of preservation and has been engraved between series of thinly marked parallel lines. The place wherefrom the plate was secured is not ascertainable, but from the fact that the inscription records the gifts of certain lands made by two brahman ladies to the Krishna shrine of the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa-vinnagar-Emberumāṇ at Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in the northern portion of Nāṇjināḍu, the plate¹ must have belonged to the village of that name. From another inscription² it is learnt that Vadaśēri, a hamlet of Nāgercoil, was called Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and the village owed that name perhaps to one of the Vēṇāḍu rulers of the name of Ādityavarman³ who reigned in 1375 and during whose time the village and its temple may have come into prominence. An inscription⁴ of Ādityavarman *alias* Sarvāṅganātha which praises the literary attainments of the king and winds up with a verse in glorification of god Krishna of Vadaśēri is actually found engraved in that temple. The name of the god suggests that it may have got its designation after a king who had the title of Rūpanārāyaṇa. The record is dated both in the Śaka year 1691 and Kollam 945 corresponding to the cyclic year Virōdhin and on a Monday, the 27th day of Purattāsi with suklapaksha-dāśami and nakshatra Śravaṇa. The details correspond to A. D. 1769, October 9. No king is however mentioned in the inscription.

The record is of some interest on account of the fact that a brahman called Rāmaliṅgam, son of Vaittiliṅga-bhaṭṭar of the Kaundinya-gōtra, Āpastambha-sūtra and the Yajus-śākhā and a resident in the south Māḍa street of the village, who had in the previous year made some gifts of land for conducting certain feeding charities in the temple of Krishna, having perhaps deceased suddenly, his two wives (widows), Jānakī-sāni and Parvatavarddhanī-sāni undertook to get a regular document drawn up in respect of these gifts, mentioning therein the details of the several items of expenditure connected with the daily feeding of eight brahmans throughout the year of 365 days (*adhikanāl-ulpaḍa*) and the special feeding of nine additional men during every Tiruvōṇam (nak. Śravaṇa) thirteen times in the year. All the documents, relating to previous monetary and other transactions, connected with the plots of land now gifted away as charity, in all numbering four and dating from Kollam 915, were deposited in the temple-treasury and a fresh deed was drafted on a cadjan leaf from which again, it is said, this authenticated copy was afterwards incised on copper by an engraver.

As usual in later Tamil documents, the language used is somewhat ungrammatical, with no very special peculiarities, however, except that *tiriyaḷ* is used for *strikaḷ* after the omission of the initial sibilant, Krishna is tamilised into *Kittina*, *sahiranya* has undergone a vulgar transformation into *chakiraniya* and *namaskāram* has slid into the form of *namakkāram*. Grantha letters have been very sparingly used in the record, the only instances being the initial *svasti śrī* and the final *Śrī-Kṛishṇaśvāmi-tunai*. Many misleading numerical as well as verbal

1 This may be copper-plate No. 4 of 1084.

2 No. 66 of 1084, published on page 125.

3 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 265.

4 T. A. S., Vol. I, p. 172.

abbreviations have been employed in the inscription and their proper values are sometimes found difficult to determine with certainty, although most of them may be guessed at with reference to the contexts.

Some of the proper names occurring in this inscription are of the villages *Īśānti-maṅḡalam*, *Varaḡuṇa-maṅḡalam*, *Bhūtappāṇḍi*, the rivulets *Araśiyār* and *Tellāṇḍi*, and the individuals *Ulagudaiya-nāchchiyār*, *Tambirāṇṭōlan-Sīvalakkuṭṭi* and *Kadambara-nāyar* of *Iravimaṇ*. *Bhūtappāṇḍi* is a village in the *Tovala taluk* in South Travancore, and *Īśānti-maṅḡalam* described as situated in the western portion of *Nāṇjinaḍu* is a village near *Bhūtappāṇḍi*.

The name *Tambirāṇṭōlan* (god's comrade) borne by an individual of the 17th century is reminiscent of the surname of saint *Sundaramūrti*, an account of whose friendship with the god (*tambirāṇ*) at *Tiruveṇṇainallūr* in the South Arcot district is narrated in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

A translation of the document has not been furnished as a major portion of it details only the boundaries of the several pieces of land and is not otherwise important.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்ரீ [1*] சகாத்தம் கதகாகூயக ன் மெல் கொல்ல [ம்*] கூாசல-
- 2 னுலு விரோதி னுலு புரட்டாதிமாதம்² உய்ளவ பூறுவபட்சத்து தெசமி-
- 3 யும்² சொமவாரமுடி திரிதிநாமயொகமுடி யானைக்கர-
- 4 ணமுடி பெற்ற திருவொண நட்சத்திறத்து நாள் செய்த சகிரணி-
- 5 யொதாபூறுவ தம்மதான பிறமானாவது [11*] நாஞ்சினாட்டு
- 6 வடசருவில் ஆதித்தவற்ம்ம சதுறவெதிமங்கலத்து நயினர் உரு-
- 7 ப நாமாயண விண்ணவ எம்பெருமானார் கொவில் சிறீ கி-
- 8 ஷ்ணசுவாமி சன்னதியில் கிராமத்தில் தெற்கு மாடதெருவில்
- 9 கவுண்டினிய கொத்திறத்து ஆ(பதம்)பத்தம்பருத்திறத்தில் எசசாகா-
- 10 த்தியான வைத்திலிங்கப்பட்டர் புத்திரன் ராமலிங்கன் திறியள் ச-
- 11 னாகியும் பறுவதவற்ற்தினிசானியொம் கிட்டிணசுவாமி சன்னதி-
- 12 யில் நித்திய நமக்காரத்துக்கும் திருவொண பிரமண பொச-
- 13 னத்துக்கும் உதகதான பிறமானம் எழுதிக்குடுத்த பரிசாவ-
- 14 து [11*] முன் சயிசுலு மாசுமாதம் லிசுவ எங்கள் பற்த்தா ராமலிங்கன்
- தான-
- 15 ம்செய்த நிலமாவது [1*] நாஞ்சினாட்டு மெல்பிடாகை ஈசாந்தி-
- 16 மங்கலம் மாங்குளம் கீழ்பால் சங்கண்ணு² அரசியார் கால்ப-
- 17 பொக்கில் தெள்ளாந்தி மடைப்புரவில் தெள்ளாந்தி வய-
- 18 ல் தடி க²2-³ க்கு எல்கையாவது கீழ் எல்-
- 19 கை மாடன் நாகர் உ⁴த்துக்கு-மெற்குத் தென்னெல்கை கிழ்-
- 20 மெல்க்காலுக்கு வடக்கு மெலெல்கை அரசியார் காலுக்-

1 Registered as No. 1 of the Trav. Copper-plate Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Contains land symbols.

4 Symbol for நிலம்.

- 21 குக் கிழக்கு வடவெல்கை கணக்கு சங்கரநாராயணன் ராமன்
 22 உத்துக்கு தெற்குமாக இவை எல்கைக்கு உள்பட்ட தென்-
 23 ளாந்தி வயல் தடி கஉ 1 உயசமீம் ஷெ கண்ணாத்தி-
 24 ல் மாங்குளம் நடுமடை கரையடி நாற்றடி தடி கஉ வத 1 ச
 25 ல் 0 உஉ சமீ க்கு எல்கையாவது கீழ் எல்கை அரசியார் கஉ-
 26 லுக்கு மெற்குத் தென்னெல்கை உலகுடய நாச்சிய-
 27 ரார் சொணை உத்துக்கு வடக்கு மெல் எல்கை மாங்குளம் கரை-
 28 க்கும் காலுக்கும் கிழக்கு வடவெல்கை உலகுடய நாச்சிய-
 29 ரார் சொணை உத்துக்கு தெற்குமாக இவை எல்கைக்கு உள்பட்ட
 30 தடி கஉ வத 1 சல் குலை சமீம் வரகுணமங்கலம் கிழ்பால அ-
 31 ரசியார் கால்பொக்கில் நால்பதுமாபற்றில் மணறை மாகா-
 32 ணி மடைப்புரவில் இரவிமன் கடம்பறநாயர் வயல் தடி
 33 கஉ சளத 1 ச டுகமீக்கு எல்கையாவது கீழ் எ-
 34 ல்கை பிராணுபகாரி சட்டை சிதம்பரன் உத்துக்கு
 35 மெற்கு தென்எல்கை தம்பிராந்தொழன் சீவலக்குட்டி
 36 உத்துக்கு உம் கிழ்மெல் காலுக்கும் வடக்கு மெல் எல்கை நயி-
 37 னர் பூததைசுவாமி உத்துக்கு கிழக்கு வடவெல்கை பூத-
 38 னாதன் ராமநாதன் உத்துக்கும் தெற்குமாக இவை எல்கைக்கு
 39 உள்பட்ட இரவிமன் கடம்பறநாயர் வயல் தடி கஉ

Second side.

- 40 சுளக 1 ககப . . டுகமீம் ஆக தடி நஉ
 41 சயசமீக்கு ஹுக பாட்டம் ஁கொட்டை நயநில் தண்மைகுறை வகைக்கு
 42 னீக்கின ஁கொறும் னீக்கி வரம்படங்கல் பாட்டம் ஁கொட்டை உயஅ ல்
 43 னன் கக்கு நமக்காரம் பெர் உக்கு அரிசி நஉக்கு ஁எஉ உரியும் யிரு
 44 வெஞ்ஞனம் வகைக்கு ஁உ உரியும் பழயநமக்காரம் பெர் சும் மெறபடி
 பெர் உம் ஆக
 45 பெர் அக்கு உப்பெரிக்கு வகவச்ச ஁உ உயும் ஆக னன் க க்கு ஁பஉஉ ஆ-
 க பெர் க க்கு அதி-
 46 கனாள் னாள் டாகுயடு க்கு சிலவு நெல் கொட்டை உயிக்கு இநஉக உரியும்
 47 மாதம் தொறும் திருவொணம் நமக்காரம் பெர்.க க்கு வைப்பு அரிசி ப
 நஉ
 48 னும் நெய்வெத்தியம் செய்து சிலவு குடுக்குற வகக்கு வைப்பு அரிசி நஉ
 49 னும் ஆக அரிசி வது உரிக்கு நில் உ க்கு ஁நமீஉளும் பருப்பும் நாலு க-
 றியும் ஆக
 50 வச்சுட்டு வகக்கு வெஞ்சன சிலவு வகக்கு ஁வது நஉ ஁னக்கும் ஆக இவ-
 னைபடி திரு-
 51 வொணம் நாள் க க்கு ஁கொட்டை ஁உசஆக பெர் க க்கு ஁ம் டெ க்கு
 திருவொணம் யந்

- 52 க்கு சிலவு கொட்டை சதவசம் ஆக நமக்காரம் திருவொணம் உள்பட்டவக
 53 க்கு இவகபடி பெர் க க்கு சிலவு எ- கொட்டை உயசு இலக- உரியும் மெ
 54 ப்படி-
 55 கொண்டு வர சத்தக்கூலிக்கு எ-கொட்டை சஉ ஆக- கொட்டை உயசு
 56 க்கும் இந்த தானம் செய்த நிலத்தை சீபண்டாரத்தில் நின்னு-
 57 ம் பாட்டம் அடைச்சு பாட்ட எம் பற்றிக்கொண்டு இந்த தம்மத்-
 58 தை பரிபாலனமாக நடத்திவருவார்களாகவும் இந்த தம்ம-
 59 தை பரிபாலனம் செய்தவர்கள் சாலொக சாமீப் சாரு-
 60 ப்பிய சாயுச்சித்தை அடைவார்களாகவும் இந்த தம்மத்தை
 61 விக்கினம் செய்தவர்கள் பிரம்மத்துரோகியாகவும் விண்ணு-
 62 த்துரோகியாகவும் சிவத்துரோகியாகவும் பொவார்களாகவும் இப்-
 63 படிச்சம்மதித்து இந்த சகரணியொதக தானப்பிறமாணம்
 64 எழுதிக்குடு [த*] தொம் ராமலிங்கன் திறியள் சானகசானியும்
 65 பறுவதவந்தினிசானியுமொம் இண-சுவாமி சன்னதிறி-
 66 ல் இப்படிக்கு ராமலிங்கன் திறியள் சானகசானியும் பறுவத
 67 வந்தினிசானியும் ஒப்பு [11*] இந்த தானப்பிறமாணம் கைஎழுதி-
 68 ன தளிகைமாதெவர் கொயில் சன்னதி கிராமத்தில் லட்சியி-
 69 நாராயண சொதிரிஷி புத்திறன் வைத்தியனாதன் எழுத்து [11*] முன்பு
 70 கூர்யநெரு ஆவணிமாதம் கூஉ பூதப்பாண்டி அகரத்து
 71 மாதெவன் புத்திறன் சூரியநாராயணபட்டர் உள்ளிட்டாருக்கு கல்-
 72 பிச்சகொடுத்த துலியம் சாற்ற்திய தானபிறமாண ஒ-
 73 லை க ம் யிவகைக்கு கைத்தடி ஒலை க ம் கூர்யநெரு காது
 74 ளுசம் காற்ற்த்திகை மாதம் யுஉ சூரியநாராயண உள்ளி-
 75 ட்டாரொடு ஸ்ருதக்கு ராமலிங்கபட்டர் உட்பட சறு தா-
 76 னம் செய்து வாங்கின ஒலை க ம் பணம் நுத க்கு எழுதி-
 77 வாங்கின அற்த்த பத்துசீட்டு க ம் ஆக ஒலை சம் சிற்பண்-
 78 டாரத்தில் கைய்யாளிக்கவும் செய்தொம் [11*] இந்த
 79 உதகதானப்பிறமாண ஒலை பட்டையத்தும்ப-
 80 டிக்குத் தாம்பிரபட்டையம் கைஎழுதின மெற்படி
 81 ணில் யிருக்கும் சிலப்பம் அணைஞ்ச பெருமாள்
 82 திருநீலகண்டன் எழுத்து [11*] பரீகஜணவரலிதாணை [11*]

No. 33.—Vadaseri inscription of Kollam 639.

This record engraved on a pillar set up in the Kṛishṇasvāmin temple at Vadaśeri is in the Tamil language and alphabet. It registers the gift of some money by a certain Dīrgha-bhaṭṭa, an Ārya brāhmaṇa for the midday offerings to the god Rūpanārāyaṇa-ṣiṇṇagar-Emberumāṇ and for feeding a brahman in the temple with those offerings. The astronomical details of the date of donation give the equivalent A. D. 1464, July 9.

The donor Dīrgha-bhaṭṭa who is stated to have been a *paradeśi* (foreigner) of the Antārvedī-rājya was in all probability a northern brāhmaṇa; but it cannot be definitely said whether he was a permanent resident at Vadaśeri or whether the donation was made by him on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy places in

the South. Antarvedi-rājya¹ was the ancient name of 'the tract of land between the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, regarded as a sacred region and the principal seat of Aryan brāhmaṇas. It is supposed to have extended from Prayāga to Haridvāra and was also known by the names of Śāśasthālī and Brahmāvarta'.

Similar donations by northerners have been met with in records of the Tamil districts: the Tiruvorriyūr and Tiruvadi Śiva temples were the recipients of gifts by a Kashmir brahman² in the 12th century.

Text.²

First face.

- 1 ஸ்வஸி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கொல்லம்
- 2 காராயக வஸ க-
- 3 ந்கடகஞாயிறு
- 4 பதினென்று செ-
- 5 னற வடுவடிவ-
- 6 கூடித்து வண-
- 7 மியுந் திங்கள்-
- 8 க்கிழமை[யு]ம்
- 9 பெற்ற உத்திரத்தி-
- 10 ன் [னன்*] நாஞ்சிநா-
- 11 டடு ஸ்ரீமஹேஸ்வ-
- 12 ற வடசெரியா-
- 13 ன ஸ்ரீமஹேஸ்வ-
- 14 வடிவத்துவெ-
- 15 ழிமங்கலத்து
- 16 நயினர் உருப-
- 17 நாராயணவி-
- 18 ண்ணகர் எம்-
- 19 பருமான் கொ-
- 20 விலில் நயினா-
- 21 ந்து சூரியரில்
- 22 கணவெடிபிரா-

Second face.

- 23 ஐதீத[து]
- 24 பரஹேஸ்-
- 25 களில் [ஶீ]-
- 26 வடிவத்து-
- 27 ஶ்ரீமஹேஸ்-
- 28 ராகு உச்சி-

- 29 ஸ[ஸ்ரீ]வது-
- 30 னையிஸ்
- 31 கூட வை-
- 32 ச்ச நிவெ-
- 33 ஶ்ச்ச ஒரு
- 34 நடிவார-
- 35 மாக ஒரு பி-
- 36 ராஜிணை-
- 37 ன ஊட்டும்-
- 38 படி கற்பித்த
- 39 இதுக்கு நாள் க
- 40 க்கு அமுது படி
- 41 உட க்கு எ-
- 42 னுட எம்மு-
- 43 ரம் |||| உப்பு அமு-
- 44 துக்கு எ- உரி
- 45 ஆக எ-

Third face.

- 46 னுட உரி[யு*]ம்
- 47 ஆக ம[ர*]லம் க க்கு எ-
- 48 கள உத னுட
- 49 ஆக
- 50 ஆண்டு க க்கு மிக்க
- 51 நாள் க க்கு மாக
- 52 ஸ்ரீ உ-
- 53 க்கு நூற்று-
- 54 க்கு முன்று
- 55 கொட்டை நெ-
- 56 ல்லு விழுக்காடு
- 57 உலயம் கொ-

1 गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्यदेशः । आप्रवागहरिद्वारपर्यन्तदेशः । ब्रह्मावर्तदेशः । तत्पर्यायः शशस्थली ॥

—Sabdakalpadruma, Vol. I, p. 54.

एते भगवत्यौ भूमिदेवानां मूलमायतनमन्तर्वेदिपूर्वेण कलिन्दकन्यामन्दाकिन्यौ संगच्छेते ।

—Anargharāghava, 7 (Apte)

2 Madras Epig. Rept. for 1922, p. 103.

3 Registered as No. 66 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

4 This is not understood.

58 ண்டு நடத்தும்ப-
 59 டி கற்பித்து இ-
 60 துக்கு ஸ சாநூ
 61 ம் சருவத்துக்கு
 62 ஸ உம் ஆக
 63 ஸ சாநூ ம் ம-
 64 ரதம் க க்கு இ-
 65 லையமுது அ-
 66 டைக்காயமு-
Fourth face.
 67 துக்கு ஸ வ ம
 68 சந்தனக-
 69 ரப்புக்கு ஸ வ
 70 ம் நெய்யமு-
 71 துக்கு ஸ வம் க-
 72 றியமுதுக்கு
 73 ஸ வ ம் ஆக ஸ
 74 க க்கு மாஸம்
 75 க க்கு பவிசை
 76 கொண்டு ந-
 77 டக்கும்படிக்கு

78 ஸ ஓம் ஆக
 79 ஸ ஓம் ஆ-
 80 அநு[த*]ராம முட்டாம-
 81 ல நடக்கும்படி
 82 கற்பித்து திரு-
 83 ப்படியில் உடி-
 84 கம் செய்து உடி[க*]-
 85 வலுவூராக இப்-
 86 பணம் அஞ்ஞாறு-
 87 ம உலையம் டெ-
 88 காண்டொ மிக்டெ-
 89 காயிலில் கலி-
 90 களும் உள்வாரி-
 91 யஞ் செய்வாரளும்
 92 பரதேசிகளும் கூ-
 93 அநு[த*]ராம முட்டாம-
 94 ல் நடக்கும்படிக்கு டி-
 95 வலுபட்டனென் டு-
 96 பநாராயண விண்ணகர் எ-
 97 ம்பெருமானுக்கு [11*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 11th day of the month of Kaṛkāṭaka in the Kollam year 639, which corresponded to a Monday, Uttiram, fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight, the provision made as charity by Dīrgha-bhaṭṭar, an Ārya immigrant from Antarvēdi-rājya, for feeding one brahman daily with the food offered to the god during the midday-service in the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa-viṇṇagar-Emberumāṇ of Vaḍaśēri *alias* Śrīmat Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṇḍalam, a *brahmadēya* in Nāḍjinaḍu is as follows:—

For 2 *nāḷi* of rice, 5 *nāḷi* of paddy and for salt, 1 *uri* of paddy,—in all 5 *nāḷi* and one *uri* of paddy for one day, *i. e.*, 1 *kalam* 2 *tūṇi* 5 *nāḷi* for a month and 12 *kōṭṭai* of paddy for a year inclusive of the excess of 6 days. With this, the charity had to be conducted.

For this, 430 *paṇam* at the rate of 3 *kōṭṭai* for 100 (*paṇam*) and 20 *paṇam* for a (*śaruvam*) brass pot,—in all, 450 *paṇam* (was given):

$\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for betel leaf and arecanut offering, $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for sandle-paste, $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for ghee, and $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* for vegetables: *i. e.*, for one *paṇam* which was to be obtained as interest per month, 50 *paṇam* (was given);

i. e., in all, 500 *paṇam* (was given), and the charity had to be conducted un-remittingly till the moon and the stars (last).

We, the temple servants, supervisors¹ and *paradēsis*² received this 500 *pa-*

1 The meaning of *uṣṭariyam-śeyvār* is 'officers in charge of the internal supervision of the temple'. *Aqappoluvāl* of earlier records in northern Travancore is analogous to it.

2 The meaning of *paradēsi* in this instance need not necessarily refer to other Aryan immigrants, but may signify East Coast brahmins in charge of the temple management or simply mendicants.

nam with libation of water on the temple threshold, (and agreed) to *Dīrgha-bha-*
tṭan to conduct (the charity) to (the god) *Rūpanārāyana-viṇṇagar-Emberumāṇ*,
till (so long as) the moon and stars (endure).

No. 34—Inscription in Krishnankoyil.

This inscription which is engraved on the east base of the flagstaff in front of the *Kṛishṇasvāmin* temple at *Kṛishṇankōyil*, records that the staff was installed by a certain *Gaṇapati*, a resident of *Kuḷattūr* in *Kollam* 945: A. D. 1770, May 7.

Text.¹

- 1 உ காசமிடு ஸ்ரீ விசுவநாதவருஷம் சித்திரைமாதம் உயிர் திங்கழ்க்கிழ-
மையும் சித்திரைநட்சத்திரமும் பூமி-
- 2 வபட்சத்து ஸ்ரீபராதேசியம் சித்திராமயேரகமும் பன்றிக்கரணமும் இந்த-
சபதினத்தில் துசப்றதிட்டை த[று]மம்
- 3 குளத்தூரன் கணபதி சதாசெர்வை உ

Translation.

In the (*Kollam*) year 945, (which corresponded to the cyclic year) *Vikṛiti*,
on the 28th day of the month of *Chittirai*, which was a *Monday* and the 13th
(lunar) *tithi* of the first fortnight, with *nakshatra* *Chitrā*, *Siddha-yōga* and *Paṇṇi*
karana—on this auspicious day, the charitable (act of) setting up of the flag (-staff)
was (done as) the service of *Gaṇapati* of *Kuḷattūr*.

No. 35—Fragmentary Records of the same place.

The other three inscriptions of this temple are fragments, of which two give the *Kollam* years 548 and 708 respectively, while the third has neither beginning nor end, but seems to have formed part of a record relating to some provision for the feeding of twelve brahmans on *dvādaśi* days. The texts of the dated fragments are however given below, as they may be found useful at some later date.

The king mentioned in the first record is apparently *Āḍityavarman* *Sarvāṅganātha*; while the king of the other record is *Veṅṇumankonda* *Udayamārttāṇḍavarman*. Their names are traceable only in part in these inscriptions.

No. 67 of 1084.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ கொல்லம் ஸ்ரீமதி ஸ்ரீயனாராயண உயிர் சென்ற நாள் . . .
- 2 ஸ்சத்து ஸ்ரீமதிமங்கலத்து திருக்கடவூர் பரமாராயணமூட்ட
- 3 தீவரத்திருவடி கொயிற்கன்மிகள் தன்மதானமாகக்குடுத்த

No. 70 of 1084.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ அருளிச்செயல் கொல்லம் எய்ய ஸ்ரீ கரத்தினை

1 Registered as No. 68 of the Trav Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. N.

- 2 சங்கநாராயண வென்றுமன் கொண்டபூசலவீர
 3 ச்சவையாரில் ஆரியன் சொக்கன் பெரியபெருமான்

No. 36—Trivandrum Museum Inscription of Kollam 839.

Regarding this inscription, the following note has been made in the *Annual Report* on Archæology for 1096 M. E.:-

It states that Īchchamm-ādikutṭṭiyuma and Ayyappaṇ-Mārttāṇḍan of Śeru-ṇīlāivīḍu in Chirayinṅil-dēśam were granted the land called Śeriyarāṇṇivīlai in Neyyāttiṅkarai-dēśam. On this gift-land in Neyyāttiṅkarai, they built a *kal-maḍam* and *ambalam*, i. e., a shed for travellers and a shrine. For the expenses connected with the consecration ceremony, for the performance of worship of the god Āchārappillai and for the proper upkeep of the flower-garden attached to the shed, certain house-site gardens and lands were assigned by the donors. A list of them is given. Among the lands so granted there were two, of which portions of income had been previously assigned to two temples and the balance only was available for the present grant. These two temples are Rāmēśvarattu-Mahādēva and Kandaḷūr-sālai-Mahādēva. The slab on which this inscription is engraved, as well as another bearing inscription No. 2 of Appendix B, which are now preserved in the Trivandrum Museum, appear to have been brought from some place near Neyyāttiṅkarai and Kuḷitturai, as their contents indicate. The former being from Neyyāttiṅkarai, Kandaḷūr-sālai mentioned in it is probably identical with Kandaḷūr, situated 6 or 7 miles from Neyyāttiṅkarai. Kandaḷūr is repeatedly referred to in Chōḷa inscriptions, where it also occurs in the contracted form Sālai. Earlier references to Kandaḷūr are found in a copper-plate record of the Āy chief Karunanda-ḍakkan (=866 A. D.) and the Śendalai pillar epigraph of the 8th century A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 137). Chēra kings maintained a powerful fleet at this place as well as at Talaikkūlam and Karaikkandīśvaram, and several attempts were made by neighbouring kings to destroy them. Successive Chōḷa sovereigns from the time of Rājārāja I claim to have cut off ships at Kandaḷūr-sālai which, as we have noted already, was shortened into Sālai. Rājādhirāja I is another of the Chōḷa kings, who claims to have destroyed the ships at Kandaḷūr. His long introductions refer to the event by the phrase “Kandaḷūr-sālaikalam-aṟuttu”. His Ka-nyākumāri inscription, like many others, summarises briefly his military achievements thus:—“*Vīra-Pāṇḍiyaṇ-talaiyūm Śēralaṇ-Sālaiyūm Ilaṅgaiyūm taṇḍāl-konḍa*”. The clause means “he who by means of his army took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the Sālai of the Chēra king and Laṅka”. This introduction makes it plain that *Sālai* is the name of a place and not a common noun meaning a ‘charity institution’. The employment of the words ‘*taṇḍāl-konḍa*’ ‘who took by means of his army,’ and the combination of them with Vīra Pāṇḍya’s head and *Laṅkā* would preclude the assignment of any other meaning. In this connection, it may be noted that two other inscriptions, not dated in any particular king’s reign, mention “*Karaikkandīśvarattu kalam-aṟra yāṇḍa*” and “*Talaikkūlatu kalam-aṟru yāṇḍu*”. These have been wrongly connected (*vide. Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II, p. 2) with Rājārāja I; but there is not the least warrant for this, as neither ‘*Sālai*’ nor ‘*Rājārāja*’ is mentioned in these records.

Text.¹

First face.

- 1 ஓம் கெணபதெ நம [*]
- 2 தனுவில் வியாழம்
- 3 நின்ற கொல்லம்²
- 4 அந்நெடுஞ் சித்தி-
- 5 ரை மாதம் நவ செ
- 6 ன்ற வியாழவாச்-
- 7 சயும் சித்திரையும்
- 8 பூவபக்கிழத்து பவு-
- 9 ரணியும் யினனா-
- 10 ரல் சிறியின்கீழ்தெ-
- 11 சத்து செறுவள்ளி-
- 12 வீட்டில் ஈச்சம்மா-
- 13 திருட்டியும் கணக்கு அய்ய[*]-
- 14 பன் மாதத்தாண்டனு-
- 15 கூட நெய்யாற்றங்க-
- 16 ரெ தெசத்து மாகாவி-
- 17 யில் செறியதாந்தி வி-
- 18 னைக்கு மூத்த தம்புரான்
- 19 திருவுள்ளம்பற்றி க-
- 20 ல்பிச்சு தந்த திருமு-
- 21 கத்தின்படி ஒள்ள ஷெ
- 22 வினையில் கல்மடமு[*]
- 23 கல்லம்பலவும் கெட்டி-
- 24 ச்சு ஷெ ஹி பங்குனி-² [ய]-
- 25 ச கெல[ச]மாடுகயில்]
- 26 ஷெ மடத்தில் தலைசெழ-
- 27 காறராக வார திருபெ-
- 28 ரு ருமபரதெசி நீராக-
- 29 ரத்துக்கும் ஆசாரபி[ன்*]னை-
- 30 யாரையும் பூசித்து நந்-
- 31 தவன பணிவிடையும்
- 32 செய்திருக்கிற பண்ட[ர*]-
- 33 ரத்துக்கு ம[ற்]றும் மிடை ப.
- 34 ட்ட பல சிலவுக்கும் திருவி-
- 35 ளக்கு எண்ண[யு]ள்-
- 36 பட்ட பணிவகைக்கு[ம்*]
- 37 கூட உதகபூர்வ த-
- 38 ம்மதான பட்டயமாக
- 39 சந்திராதித்தர் வரை-
- 40 க்கு நடக்கும் படிக்கு

1 Registered as No. 3 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1996 M. R.

2 The date corresponds to A. D. 1664, March 31.

Second face.

- 41 சிலாலிகித-
 42 மாக நாம் வி-
 43 ட்டு குடுத்த நில-
 44 ங்களும் புரெ-
 45 யடங்களும-
 46 ராவல [11*] திரு
 47 முகத்தின்ம் 11-
 48 [19. கடம] அடக்கி
 49 வெண்டின
 50 செறியதாநி
 51 விளை யுள்ளி-
 52 ட்ட புரெயடங்-
 53 னுக்கும் ஷெ விளை-
 54 யிலும் பிற கரி-
 55 யிலுங் குடக-
 56 [ருசவ] ங்கழு-
 57 டய வாணாய-
 58 திருத்தின் தாநி-
 59 யம் யுள்ளிட்ட
 60 தடி பல உ ங்ள-
 61 யும் நயினார் [ரா]டு-
 62 மசுரத்து மாடு-
 63 த[வ]ர் பற்றில் நி-
 64 ந்ரு கடம அடக்கி
 65 காராமயாக
 66 விட்டு தந்த ன-
 67 . டிலாவிளை-
 68 யும் ஷெல் கீழ்பி-
 69 றத்து வெட்டித்தி-
 70 ருத்து தடி ஒன்-
 71 று உ ங்-பம் எங்-
 72 கள் தாய்ம-
 73 ரார் சிரிதன-
 74 ம் பெற்றுடை-
 75 யொ மாயி
 76 ஆண்டனு-
 77 பவத்து வருகி-
 78 ற. மாநாலி[யி]-
 79 ல் பெருவழி-
 80 க்ரு தென் பிற-
 81 ங் கண்டலில்
 82 [ரா]மெசுரத்து

Third face.

- 83 மாதெவர்க்கு அஞ்சிலொ-
 84 ன்று வார[ம்*]பொகவென்-

- 85 மெ வலியவயல் உள்ளிட்ட
 86 தடி எ உ ள நடுவும் [கொ]-
 87 ல்யில் மங்குளத்தின் கி-
 88 ழ் மஞ்ஞற்கற கு உடு [ம்] அ-
 89 யிக்கர வட்டத்து புதுக்குளத்தி-
 90 ன் கீழ் [எ]ரிச்சிலற தடி க
 91 உ டெம் ஷெதடி உ கார் எற்-
 92 ஞ்சரிரவிருத்தியும் மஞ்ஞற்-
 93 . . . கடமபும் பொன்னும்
 94 ண்ணங்கொட்டு எண்-
 95 யொன் குளத்தின் கீழ்
 96 குளத்தற தடி க உ யபம் ரு சி-
 97 ந் கண்டம் உ சபம் வித்து-
 98 கொள்ளி உ எபம் . ஷெ
 99 தடி க உ பம் வள்ளல் தடி
 100 உ உகபரு காயடி தடி உ உ
 101 . ருமள மெச்சன் உ அப
 102 வள்ளிவாழற உ பம் குள-
 103 வடி தடி உ உ உபயும் புளிய-
 104 டி தடி உ உ உபயும் மெக்குதெ-
 105 ர புலவச்ச [பு]ரெயடத்தில்
 106 பாதியும் ஷெ சாயல் புளி-
 107 யடி தலெபுரெயடத்தி-
 108 னு வடக்கு கிழக்குதரெ வி-
 109 த்துகொள்ளி வயல் தடு-
 110 ல புரெயடத்தினு வட-
 111 க்கு நீர்ச்சருவுகன்க்கும்
 112 அகத்து அகபட்ட கரப்-
 113 புரெயடத்துவளில் பாதி-
 114 யும் ஆலத்தூர் தெசத்து ச-
 115 ரப்புகாட்டில் குளத்தின் கி-
 116 ழ் காரந்தனார் சாலை ம-
 117 டெதவர்க்கு வரம் பெரக
 118 வெண்டு மருதற தடி க உ
 119 டெ பம் செறிய புளியடி
 120 தடி க உ டு பம் புத்தற தடி க உ
 121 டு பம் கொணத்து தடி க உ
 122 க பம் தெக்கெப்புத்தற தடி க உ
 123 சபம் கானக்கொட்டு

Fourth face.

- 124 செறகொட்டு
 125 புரெயடங்களு [ஆ*]
 126 கயிவ்வக [தடி]
 127 பல உயகனய
 128 கபம் யிந்த பு-
 129 ரெயடங்களு [ம்*]
 130 கூட மடப்பிறம-

- 131 ஈக சந்திராதித்-
 132 தர் வரெக்கும்
 133 தம்மம் நடக்கும்-
 134 படி விட்டுக்குடு-
 135 த்து [||*] யிந்த மட த-
 136 ற்ம்ம நடந்து வ-
 137 ருமிடத்து யாத-
 138 ஈமொருவர் யி-
 139 ந்த மடத்துக்கும் நி
 140 லங்களுக்கும் பு
 141 ரெயடங்களு
 142 க்கும் அருதம் டெ
 143 சய்தபெர்க-
 144 ள் தங்கள் மஈ-
 145 தா பிதாவை டெ-
 146 கான்ற தொழ-
 147 த்திலும் பிறும-
 148 ணரை கொன்-
 149 ற தொழத்திலு-
 150 ம் கெங்கைக-
 151 ரயில் காரும்-
 152 பசுவை கொ-
 153 ன்ற தொழத்தி-
 154 ல் பொவாராக-
 155 வும் யிந்த தம்ம-
 156 த்துக்கு அனுசு-
 157 லம் செப்ப-
 158 வர்கள் பரடெ-
 159 மசுரனுடைய
 160 பாதாரவிந்-
 161 தத்தில் செர்-
 162 வாராகவும் [||*]
 163 ஸுஹஸ்து |

Translation.

Om ! Adoration to Gaṇapati !

The following are the lands and *puraiyidams* which we, Ayyappaṇ-Mārttaṇḍaṇ and Ichchamādikkuṭṭiyuma of Cheruvallivīdu in Chirayinkil-deśam, assigned—on this day, *i.e.*, after three days of the month of Chittirai of the Kollam year 839, when Jupiter was in Dhanus, and which corresponded to Thursday, the Chitrā-nakshatra and the full-moon *tithi*,—as a charitable gift followed by libation of water, to last as long as the moon and the sun endure, and we had the gift engraved on stone, for supplying water to strangers, for the *paṇḍāram* who conducts the worship of the god Āchārappillaiyār and does the service of maintaining the flower-garden and for other incidental expenses, as well as for the money required for the expenses of supplying oil to sacred lamps to be kept in the stone shrine,

built and consecrated on the 14th day of Paṅguṇi in the said year, in the Śeriyatānnivīlai of Mānāli in the village of Neyyāttinkarai, according to the royal order which the reigning king¹ had been pleased to grant to us:—

The gardens and other lands comprised in Śeriyatānnivīlai, which had been obtained by us inclusive of *kaḍamai* according to royal order:—

land of 3 *kalam* comprised in many *taḍis* in Vāṇiyatiruttu of . . . ;

Pilāvilai, situated in the holdings of the temple of Rāmēśvarattu-mādēvar with the right of enjoyment of *kārāṇmai* and *kaḍamai*;

the land called Vettitiruttu (having the sowing capacity) of three *kurūṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*, situated to the east of the above;

the middle portion of the land called Valiyavayal and some other lands (having the sowing capacity) of 2 *kalam* comprised in seven *taḍi*, situated on the southern side of the high road in Mānāli, which had been under our enjoyment, having been obtained by our maternal relations as *strīdhana*, exclusive of one in five of the *vāram* assigned already to the temple of Rāmēśvarattu-mādēva;

the land called Maññarakara, measuring 10 *para*, comprised in a *taḍi* and situated to the east of the tank named Kollayil-māṅgulaṁ;

the land called Erichchilara (having the sowing capacity) of 10 *nāḷi* comprised in one *taḍi* to the east of the tank of Pudukkulaṁ.

the *kaḍama* and gold from Errāsarivirutti, Maññara ;

the land called Kuḷattara to the east of Eṇayōṅkulaṁ in Ōṇaṅōḍu, measuring 10 *para*, comprised in one *taḍi*;

. kuḍam, (having the sowing capacity) of 4 *kurūṇi*;

Vittukolli, (having the sowing capacity) of 7 *kurūṇi* and another of 2 *kurūṇi*;

Vallal, measuring 1 *kurūṇi*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

Kāyaḍi, measuring . . . , comprised in two *taḍi*;

Maḷamechchan, measuring 8 *kurūṇi*;

Vallivāra, measuring 1 *kurūṇi*;

Kuḷavaḍi, measuring 2 *kurūṇi*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

Puliyāḍi measuring 2 *kurūṇi*, comprised in two *taḍi*;

half of Mēkkuttara Pūvaḷhcha-purayaḍam;

half of the land measuring 3 *kurūṇi* situated to the north of Puliyāḍi-talaippurayidaṁ, to the north of Vittukolliyayal-talaippurayidaṁ and the lands karaippurayidaṁ included in the water course;

the land called Marudara situated to the east of the tank of Sarappukkāḍu in the village of Ālattūr, measuring 12 *kurūṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*, obtained exclusive of the *vāram* assigned to the temple of Kāṇḍalūrsālai-mahādēva;

Śeriyapuliyāḍi, measuring 5 *kurūṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*,

Puttara, measuring 5 *kurūṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*;

Kōṇam, measuring 1 *kurūṇi* comprised in one *taḍi*;

1 The Mūtta-Tambirāṇ is probably Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman.

Tekkepputtara, measuring 4 *kuruni* comprised in one *taḍi*;
the *puraiyiḍams* of Śerukōḍu in Kaṇakkōḍu;

Thus, in all, land measuring 11 *kalam* and 11 *kuruni* comprised in many *taḍis*.

These *puraiyiḍams* also were assigned towards the requirements of the shed, so that the charity may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun endure.

While the charity relating to this shed is being conducted, if any one should cause evil to this shed, and to these lands and *puraiyiḍams*, he shall incur the sin of killing his mother and father, the sin of killing Brāhmaṇas and the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges. Those who act in favour of this charity, shall attain the lotus feet of Paramēśvara. Be it well!

No. 37—Trivandrum Museum Inscription of Kollam 957.

This Tamil inscription is engraved on a slab now preserved in the Government Museum at Trivandrum; but it must have belonged to Kuḷitturai.

It is dated in Kollam 957 and states that a private individual named Pich-chai-Pillai Kaṇṇam-Pillai of Maṇjavilāgam house in the village of Kuḷitturai constructed a shed to the east of the market, sunk a well, fitted it with a water-cistern in stone, and made a gift of land. Arrangements were made to refresh men and animals passing on the way. Men were employed at the shed to see that the cistern was kept filled with water at all times, so that jaded animals may quench their thirst. Travellers were also offered cool or hot water for drinking, pickles to eat, chunam for chewing and torches to help them in their night journey. It is stated that arrangements were also made to see that ropes and *pālai* (palmyrah leaf basket) were kept ready always for drawing water from the well and that the shed was properly roofed, and kept tidy all through the year. This private charity speaks for itself and needs no comment. Other similar inscriptions show that there were similar rest-houses maintained, affording comfort to travellers on the roads at Nattālam, Aṟṟūr, Pudūr and Mayilōḍu near Tiruvīdāṅgōḍu. The *ambalam* at Mayilōḍu supplied way-farers with buttermilk also. It is enough to say that these free refreshment stages existed at short intervals on main roads of traffic to give shelter to, and to relieve considerably the fatigue of travellers, in those pre-railway days when pedestrianism and carts were the only modes of travel.

It may be noticed that although the script employed is Tamil, the language which is mainly Tamil is interspersed with a few Malayalam expressions and forms. The English equivalent of the date of the record is A. D. 1782, July 22.

Text.¹

- 1 தனுவில் வியாளம்
- 2 நின்ற கொல்லம் கூர்-
- 3 மிளவூர் ஆடி மாத-
- 4 ம் பத்து சென்ற தி-
- 5 காளாட்சையும் மூலவும்
- 6 பூரபட்சத்து திறையொடு-
- 7 ததியும் இன்னுளால் குளு-
- 8 த்துறை தெசத்து மஞ்சவி-

¹ Registered as No. 2 of The Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

- 9 ளாகத்து வீட்டில் பிச்சப்பிள்-
 10 னை கண்ணம்பிள்ளை மெல்-
 11 ப்படி தெசத்து பழயசந்-
 12 தயில் கிளக்கெப்பி-
 13 றத்தில் அம்பலவும் கெ-
 14 ட்டி கிணறும் வெட்டி-
 15 தொட்டியும் அடிச்சித்-
 16 டு தொட்டியில் வெள்ளங்
 17 கொரிவிக்கவும் சாவி-
 18 ல் குடி வெள்ளம் கொரிவி-
 19 டவும் வென்னீர் ஊறுகாய்
 20 குடுக்கவும் சுண்ணாம்பு
 21 வெண்டி இடவும் பாளையம் கய-
 22 றும் வகைக்கும் ஷெ அம்பலம் ஒ-
 23 ல கெட்டு வகைக்கும் நடக்கா-
 24 வு தூட்சிக்கவும்¹ இந்த வகைக-
 25 ள் எ[ல்லா]ம் நடத்தி வருகி-
 26 ற பண்டாரங்களுக்கு நி-
 27 லவும் புரயெடும் செம்மம் செ-
 28 [ந]டிவிட்டுருக்க வகை பா-
 29 கொடு தெசத்து மெக்கின்-
 30 ங்கரை மெலெ வீட்டு

Second face.

- 31 மெலவிட்டு விளாக
 32 புரயிடத்தி [எய ரப்]² காசை
 33 வெண்டி சிலவிட்டுக் கெ-
 34 ள்ளுவாராகவும் [1*] இந்த எ-
 35 ளுத்தின்படி உள்ள தற்மம்
 36 களியும் நடத்திவருகிற பண்-
 37 டாரங்களுக்கு நிலவும் பு-
 38 ரயடவும் செம்மம் செ[ந]டி[வி]-
 39 ட்டிக் குடுத்தவகை அண்-
 40 டுகொடு தெசத்து அ[ளில்ல]-
 41 கொட்டு கொணத்து ராதி-
 42 ரியான்குளத்தாலும்
 43 தெவன்குளத்தாலும் கிள்-
 44 வெங்கெறெ தடி க நிலம்.
 45 [சு ப] ஷெ தெசத்து வெங்கெ-
 46 ரங்குளத்தின் கிள் படப்பற
 47 தடி க நிலம் ஸு ப[மு]வன்னு-
 48 தெசத்து சுரப்பாலைக்குளத்தி-
 49 ன்கிள் ஊளாற தடி க நி-
 50 லம் எப டு உ-ம் வயல்கலக்க
 51 ல் நிக்கும் தெற்கு ஸு-ம் புன்னை
 52 க ம் ஆக தடி ஸு நிலம் கள சபநு-

1 This word is a variant of ஸூழிக்கவும்.

2 Probably எழுபதரை.

- 53 வந் தெங்கு கூ-ம் புன்னை க-ம்
 54 ஷை அம்பலத்து வடக்கு ப்[கிற]த்து
 55 விளா[க*]த்தி[ல்] இருக்கிற வீடு-
 56 ம் விளாக விருட்சங்க-
 57 னும் பஞ்சுக்கடயில் தெக்கெ-

Third face.

- 58 விளாகம் புர-
 59 யடத்தினு [நாலெ]-
 60 ல்கை கீ[ளெ]-
 61 ல்லை அரசன்-
 62 செரி விளாக-
 63 த்தினும் மெக்கு [தென்]-
 64 னல்ல இடலை-
 65 க்குந் வடக்கு மெ[லெ]-
 66 ல்லை தாளக்-
 67 [கெசு]டு புரமிடத்தி-
 68 னும் கிளக்கு வ-
 69 டவல்ல நாவறெ-
 70 விளாகத்தினு-
 71 ம் தெக்கு இவெ(ள்)-
 72 ல்கை நடுவில்
 73 கிடந்த மெலெ-
 74 ட்டு விளாகம்
 75 புரையிடத்தினு
 76 ஹு க-க்கு பாட்ட ஸ
 77 யெல் தனங்க-
 78 ரம் ஸ கதியும் நீ-
 79 க்கி ஸ யஇ-க்கும் கி-
 80 லவு ஷை அம்பல-
 81 ம் ஒலகட்டு வ-
 82 கைக்கு ஸ கூ-ம்
 83 பாளையம் கயறு-
 84 க்கும் ஸ உ-ம் சு-
 85 ண்ணா[ம் பு]-
 86 க்கு ஸ கதியும் ஊ-
 87 றுகாமி [வகை]க்கு
 88 ம[ராக] சரி வழிபொ-
 89 க்கிக்கு குட்டுக்கு-
 90 டெக்கிவகைக்கு ஸ க-
 91 ம் ஆக இந்த வகைக்கு-
 92 சலவு ஸ யஇ-யும் இது-

Fourth face.

- 93 [வு] ந் தெழிக்கா-
 94 வ வீட்டில் பொ-
 95 கம் உடமயாக
 96 அனுபவிச்சு-
 97 கொண்டு எரு-
 98 தின பிற(ா)காற-

- 99 ம் தற்மம் [ந]டப்[டி]-
 100 வைக்[க]உம ச-
 101 ஹவகார்யமு
 102 தருமம் நடத்திக்
 103 கொள்ளுவாரா-
 104 கவும் இந்தப்படி த-
 105 த்மம் நடந்துவரவெ
 106 எதொரு காலவும யா¹ -
 107 தா ஒருத்த ஆகி-
 108 லும் தற்ம்மத்து-
 109 க்கு விக்கினம் வரு
 110 த்தின பெர்கள்
 111 இ[ந்த] தற்மம் மு-
 112 டக்கின பாவம்
 113 [ஏ]ற்றுக்கொ-
 114 ள்ளவானு-
 115 கவும் இந்தப்-
 116 படி தம்மசிச்-
 117 ச ஷெ அம்பல-
 118 த்துக்கு இந்த வரு-
 119 ம்படி எல்லாம்
 120 தானமாக ஆ-
 121 செந்திரகாலமெ
 122 தந்தெதிப்பிற-
 123 தெசமெ கல்லு
 124 வெட்டி நாட்டிடு-
 125 டுத்த பிச்சடி-
 126 ன்ளை கன்ன-
 127 ம் பிள்ளை கு-
 128 மரசுவாமி துணை [11*]

Translation.

On this day tenth, expired, in the month of Āḍi of the Kollam year 957, when Jupiter stood in Dhanus, (and which corresponded to) Monday, the Mūla- (nakshatra), and the thirteenth (*tithi*) of the first fortnight, Pichchappillai-Kaṇṇam-pillai of Mañjavilāgam house in the village of Kuḷitturai built a shed, dug a well, made a water-cistern on the eastern side of the old market in the said village, and assigned the following lands and house-site gardens and money for drawing water and filling up the cistern, for drawing drinking water and keeping it in a pot (*śāl*), for supplying hot-water and pickles, for giving chunam, for keeping a palm-leaf basket and rope, for thatching the shed with palm-leaves, for supervising the shrine Nadakkāvu in it, for the *paṇḍāram* and who had to manage these arrangements:—

1 The syllables வரவெ are entered below the line.

2 The letters 'அம் யா' are engraved below the line.

seventy and half *kāṣu* shall be obtained from the house-site garden of Melaivīṭṭu-*vilāgam* situated in Mēkkinṅkarai in the village of Pākōḍu and used for expenses.

The following are the lands, gardens and money, assigned for the *paṇ-
dārams* who have to conduct the charities mentioned in this written deed:—

land (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kurūṇi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Kīlveṅgarai, fed by water from Dēvaṅkuḷam and Pādiriyāṅkuḷam and situated in Aḷillakōṭṭu-kōṇam forming part of the village of Aṇḍukōḍu;

land (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kurūṇi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Paḍappaṛa under the tank of Veṅgaraṅkuḷam and situated in the same village;

land having the sowing capacity of 7 *kurūṇi* and 5 *nāḷi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Uḷāra under the tank of Śurappālaikuḷam and situated in Muvannudēsam;

3 cocoanut trees and 1 *puṇṇai* tree standing on the land called Vayal-
kalakkal ;—

all together, (the portions assigned) are 3 *taḍi* of land having the sowing capacity of 1 *kalam* 4 *kurūṇi* and 5 *nāḷi*, three cocoanut trees and one *puṇṇai*.

The house situated in the *vilāgam* on the northern side of the shed together with the trees standing in the same *vilāgam* (were) also (given).

The four boundaries of Tekkivilāgam-*purayidam* of Paṇjukkadaḷ (given to this) are:—

The eastern boundary is to the west of Araṣaṅṣeri-*vilāgam*: the southern boundary is to the north of Iḍalai: the western boundary is to the east of Tāḷaga-
kōḍu-*purayidam*: and the northern boundary is to the south of Nāvarai-*vilāgam*.

Out of the annual *pāṭṭam* money *viz.*, 12 *paṇam* due on the Mēlavīṭṭu-*vilāgam-purayidam* lying within the above named four boundaries, after deducting 1½ *paṇam* for, the expenses for the remaining 10½ *paṇam* are:—

6 *paṇam* for thatching the said shed with palm-leaves:

2 *paṇam* for palm-leaf baskets and rope;

1½ *paṇam* for chunam and for pickles; and

1 *paṇam* for supplying wayfarers with torches:

thus the 10½ *paṇam* are for these items of expenses.

Thus shall the incomes from Teḷikkāvu-*vīḍu* be rightfully enjoyed and the charities mentioned in this written deed conducted. If, while the charities are being conducted in this manner, any one should at any time, cause obstruction to this charity, he shall incur the sin of having stopped this charity. Thus agreeing, Pichchaippillai-Kaṇṇampillai assigned all these incomes as free gift to the said shed, so that they may last as long as the moon exists and be enjoyed in succession. This was caused to be engraved on a stone and (the latter) was ordered to be set up.

No. 38—Pudur inscription of the year 836.

This inscription is engraved on a pillar in a *maṇḍapa* at Pudevūr, a hamlet of Tiruvidāṅgōḍu. It is in the Tamil language and characters.

Text.¹

| | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1 அந்நெ- | 40 தண்- |
| 2 கூளுதை | 41 ணீரு- |
| 3 [மீ]செஉ பள்- | 42 ம் தீயு- |
| 4 ளிச்சை ஈ | 43 ம் முட்- |
| 5 ச்சுரன் ஈ- | 44 டா- |
| 6 ச்சுரன் செ- | 45 மெ- |
| 7 விசச ஆம்- | 46 ல் இ |
| 8 பல- | 47 ருந்- |
| 9 த்துக்- | 48 து ந- |
| 10 கு மெ- | 49 டத்தி |
| 11 ல் ப- | 50 வித- |
| 12 டி ய- | 51 த்து க- |
| 13 ான் | 52 ட[சை*]ம- |
| 14 உடப்- | 53 யும் |
| 15 பிறந்- | 54 இறு- |
| 16 தாள் | 55 த்து |
| 17 நாச்- | 56 யா- |
| 18 சியா | 57 விச்- |
| 19 ராகு- | 58 சு டெ- |
| 20 ந்தம்- | 59 காள- |
| 21 மை | 60 வரா- |
| 22 தா- | 61 ரக- |
| 23 னம் | 62 வும் |
| 24 குடு- | 63 உடு- |
| 25 தத நி- | 64 ப்பா- |
| 26 லம் | 65 ன் |
| 27 புது- | 66 ஆ- |
| 28 யூர் | 67 ண்- |
| 29 குள- | 68 டி ஒ- |
| 30 த்து கி- | 69 ன்று- |
| 31 ள் மு- | 70 க்கு [மு]- |
| 32 ருக்க- | 71 ன்- |
| 33 மை | 72 து ப- |
| 34 டு ப- | 73 ண |
| 35 யும் | 74 வு |
| 36 சந்த- | 75 ம் |
| 37 தி பி- | 76 ஹ- |
| 38 நவெ- | 77 னி[*] |
| 39 சமெ | |

Translation.

To the shed (*ambalam*), built by Ichchuran-Ichchuran of Pallichchai on the 14th day of the month of Tai in the year 826, Nāchchiyar-Āsundammai the uterine sister of the above person, made a gift of the land called Murukkarai (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kurun̄i* (of seed) situated to the east the tank at

¹ Registered as No. 70 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 A. D.

Puduvār, so that water and fire (perhaps torches) may be kept up without default and the land enjoyed in succession, paying the usual taxes. (She also gave) three *paṇam* for the clothing required annually. Hari !

Inscriptions at Tiruvidaikkōdu.

Tiruvidaikkōḍu which is a small hamlet about three miles to the east of Padmanābhapuram contains an old Śiva temple with a shrine of Śāstā also located within the same building. In the south *prākāra* of this temple lies embedded a rough boulder of rock and on it have been engraved the records relating to the temple grants. Two of the earliest of these belonging to the Āy king Kōkkanandaḍakkaṇ (A. D. 855) of the 9th century A. D., and two other Vaṭṭeluttu epigraphs² of about the 10th and 11th centuries have already been published. From them, it is evident that the temple dates from at least the third quarter of the 9th century. Local tradition derives the name of the temple from *tiru*=beautiful or sacred, *viḍai*=bull (Nandi), and *kōḍu*=hill top and Tiruvidaikkōḍu may then be considered as synonymous with Vṛishabhādri; but the real name is Iḍaikkōḍu and occurs as such in the temple's inscriptions.³

The subjoined are the other inscriptions found in the temple, either engraved on the rock referred to above, or on detached stone slabs set up in the temple compound. The *śūru-maṇḍapa* round the central shrine appears to have either been erected or renovated in Kollam 769 and its pillars contain the names of their respective donors.

No. 39—Record of Ravi-Ravivarman of Kollam 548.

No. 5 of the Travancore Epigraphical collection is an important record from the palæographical point of view, as it is specifically dated in Kollam 548 (=A. D. 1373) in the latter half of the 14th century in the reign of the Travancore king Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Kīlappēṭṭar. The language of the inscription is Tamil as is natural in the southern corner of the Travancore State, but the script employed marks an intermediate stage between Chōla-Grantha as such, and modern Malayalam which traces its origin from the former.

Malabar tradition ascribes the introduction of the Grantha alphabet for writing Malayalam works to the poet Tuṇjattu Rāmānujan-Eluttachchan,⁴ 'the father of Malayalam literature', who is believed to have flourished in the early part of the 8th century of the Malabar era. But it seems likely that the adaptation may have been made a century or more earlier, and that in the time of this poet the

1 *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 14-15.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 198-200.

3 See page 150 below.

4 Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, p. 42.

new script may have undergone some standardisation in form¹ and received more popular acceptance. With the introduction of a greater percentage of Sanskrit words in their unadulterated forms in medieval Malayalam literature as opposed to the earlier compositions which were less saturated with this foreign element, and with the popularisation of the hybrid *maṇipravāla* style which forms a distinctive feature of the Malayalam language, the older indigenous Vatteluttu script with its limited range of letters was found inadequate for the purpose of writing literary compositions in; and the Nambudiri brahmins who were the sole custodians of learning in Malabar in the earlier days, adopted the Grantha alphabet for their literary purposes. This script, supplemented by a few letters such as *ḷa*, *ṛa*, *ḷa* foreign to the Aryan language but borrowed from Vatteluttu, has been standardised as the modern cursive Malayalam alphabet, the only change that it has undergone in all these centuries being but a rounding off of its angularities, which differentiates it from modern Grantha and gives it the appearance of an individual script. Palæographical evidence discloses that Grantha was only sparingly used in early Vatteluttu inscriptions for representing Sanskrit words, and that by about the 14th century, Grantha was adopted in its entirety for purposes of engraving inscriptions and copying manuscripts side by side with Vatteluttu, which still continued to be used.

The present record of the latter half of the 14th century is a noteworthy inscription in this respect. It marks a stage wherein the letters while retaining still their affinity to the Grantha forms have developed certain characteristics which have descended down to modern times in Malayalam. The letters also bear a marked resemblance to the alphabet employed in the Kottayam plates of Vīra-rāghava-chakravartin, and this similarity goes a long way to confirm the assignment of the latter to the 14th century A. D.² Some of the remarks made by Mr. V. Venkayya in regard to the peculiarity of the alphabet of that record applies with equal appropriateness to the script of the present epigraph:

(i) the group *kk* is expressed by adding a second horizontal stroke above the middle line forming part of the single letter;

(ii) the rough *r* is used in several places and the semi-circular loop of *u* is affixed at its bottom as in modern Malayalam;

(iii) the secondary *ā* length is a distinct symbol and the forerunner of the Malayalam in-turned loop *ṣ*, and the secondary *i* and *ī* are represented by curves on the top of the letters;

(iv) *ta* and *na*, while retaining their affinity to the Grantha group, also approximate in their forms to their Malayalam equivalents;

(v) *ṇa*, *ya*, *ṭa*, and *ra* have almost their modern forms in Malayalam;

(vi) *bha* retains its Grantha form and has not degenerated into *ḥ*; and

(vii) conjunct consonants are written one over the other, as in *ṣeyda*, *mukappadi* (l. 19, 5), in combination in a single symbol *ittu* (l. 6) and in juxtaposition in other places *aiññārru* (l. 1), no uniformity being maintained.

1 Burnell does not credit him with any attempt at systematisation in the orthography of the Aryan script except the introduction of the letters *r*, *ṛ* and *ḷ* - p. 42.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 292.

It may thus be seen that the characters approximate to the modern Malayālam adaptations than to the original Grantha letters from which they were primarily evolved, and that this period of borrowal must therefore be at least a century earlier than the period of this epigraph, (*i. e.*), about the end of the 13th century A. D.

The subject matter of the document does not call for much remark, the record but registering a gift of land for feeding twelve brahmans in the Tiruviḍaikkōḍu temple during the Viśākhā annual festival. The king during whose reign the inscription was engraved was Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Kilappērūr who was ruling over Vēṇāḍu. From the temple chronicles as extracted in the *State Manual*¹ we learn that a king called Vīra-Mārttāṇḍavarman ruled over Vēṇāḍu till about 550 M. E., when he made certain expiatory donations to the temple of Padmanābhasvāmin at Trivandrum; but epigraphical records have till now given him a reign up to Kollam 541 only. As Āḍityavarman Sarvāṅganātha of the Trivandrum Krishṇaṅkōyil epigraph² is known to have been ruling in the Śaka year 1296 expressed by the chronogram '*chōlapriya*' corresponding to Kollam 549-50, we have to consider that the Vēṇāḍu king Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of the present record was his predecessor. It cannot be definitely stated when Mārttāṇḍa ceased to rule and in what year Ravi-Ravivarman commenced his reign or whether both of them were joint-rulers of Vēṇāḍu before Kollam 550.

Srīvallabha-maṅḡalam, is mentioned in a Chōla-Pāṇḍya record of Chōla-puram as a *brahmadēya* of Nāttārru-pōkku in Uttamaśōla-valanāḍu. Manattittai is a hamlet near Bhūtappāṇḍi.

Text.*

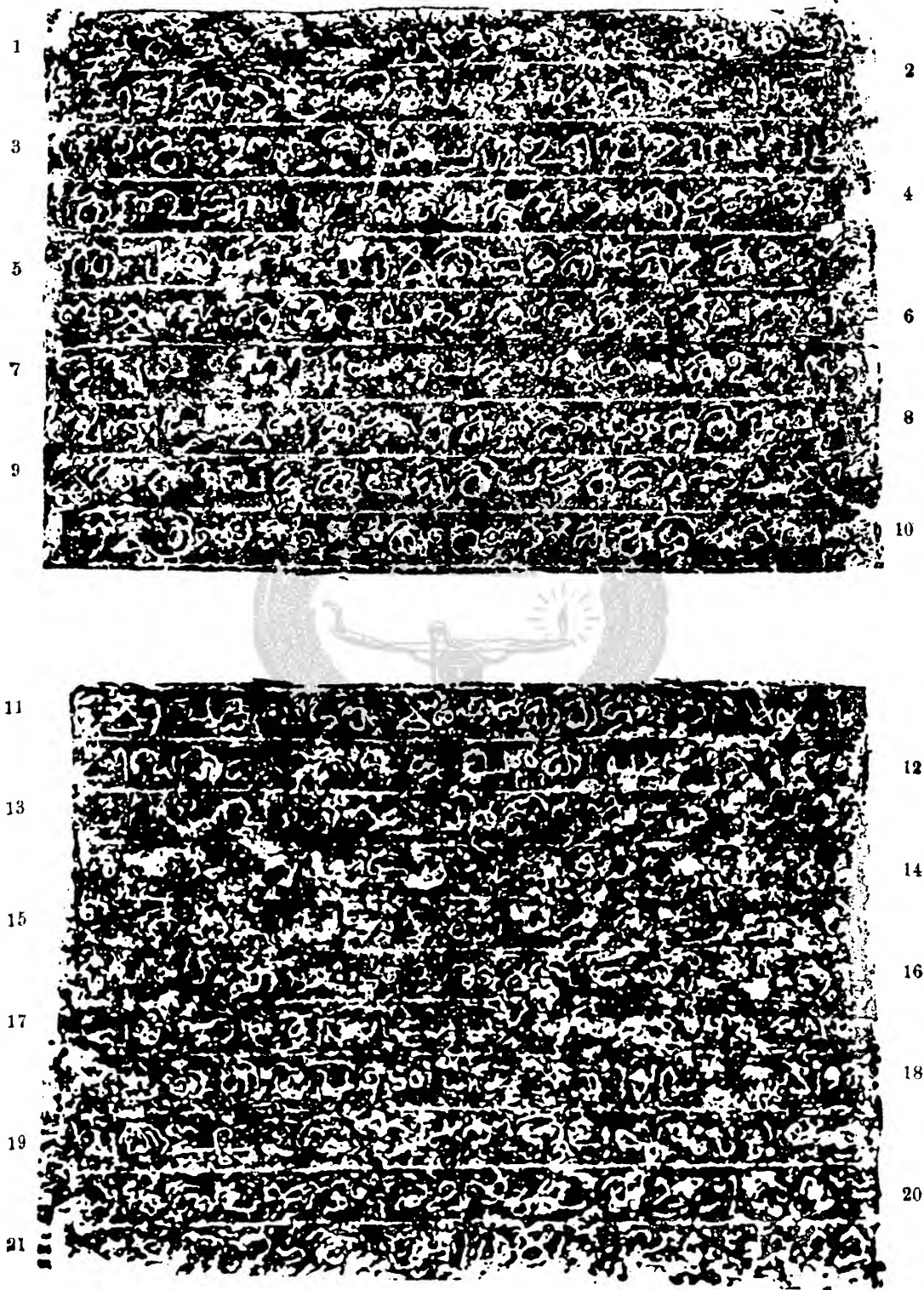
- 1 സ്വസ്തി ശ്രീ [*] കൊല്ലം അത്തുറ നാൽപ്പത്തു എട്ടാ
- 2 മാണ്ടു കന്നിത്തായിര ധ ചെൻറതു വെണാടു വ-
- 3 ള്ളത്തളിൻറ കീഴപ്പുരൂ[*] ഇരവി ഇരവിവർമ്മ-
- 4 ന്നിരുവിടി സർവ്വസ്തകവത്തുദാനം കൊടുത്ത നില-
- 5 ത്തിന്നു എഴുതിന തിരുമുക്തപ്പടി [*] കീഴ്കളക്കുററത്തു
- 6 ബ്രഹ്മദേശത്തു ശ്രീവല്ലഭ മതുവെതിമങ്ങലത്തു ക-
- 7 വ യജ്ഞനാരായണപ്പട്ട സർവ്വസ്തകവത്തു നാ-
- 8 മ്പിനാട്ടിൽ മണത്തിട്ട തെക്കാൽ കീഴേൽക തിരുപ്പാപ്പു
- 9 മ്ബത്ത തിരുവിടിക്കു പകുതിപട്ട തടി ൨ നില മാക-
- 10 മന്നി മുന്തിയെക്ക മെൽക്ക തെന്നെൽക തടി ൧ നിലം [അ]-
- 11 രമാവുക വടക്കു മെൽക്കൽക തടി ൧ നിലം അര-
- 12 മാവുക കൂഴക്കു വടവെൽക വാഴ്ക്കാൽക്കു
- 13 തെക്കു ഇവെൽക നടുവിൽ കിടത്ത കെ ഭാ.

1 *State Manual*, Vol-I, p. 265.

2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 171.

3 Registered as No. 5 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E. and No. 47 of 1098 M. E.

TIRUVIDAIKKODU INSCRIPTION OF KOLLAM 535



A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

Scale: one-eighths.

- 14 നിലം ഒരുമാ തക
 15 ഉതകപ്പുറ്റ് താമതാനാക ആചരതാ-
 16 രവൽ തത്തരിപ്രദേശമെ അതികരിച്ചുകൊ-
 17 ണ്ടു കന്നിത്തായിററ വിശാകം ആട്ടെത്തിരു-
 18 നാളക്കു വിരുവിടെക്കൊട്ടു മക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു മാത-
 19 വക്കു ഇല്ലളവിറ്റനാൽ ന നാള ചെയ്ക്ക അരിയും -
 20 കാട്ടത്തു പന്തിരണ്ടു ചെയർ പിരാമ്മണക്കു അമ-
 21 തെയക്കു നടത്തപ്പെറ്റാകമാറ ഇല്ലെ ആക

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 10th day of the month of Kanni in (the) Kollam (year) five-hundred and forty-eight, the land which was given as *sarvagrastaka-vastu-dānam* (an absolute gift) according to the royal order of Iravi-Iravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Kīlappērūr, who was ruling over Vēṇāḍu to Yajñanārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa of Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* of Kīlkalakūṟam is to the south of Maṇaltittai in Nāṇjināḍu and its boundaries are the following:—

the eastern boundary is to the west of the *mākāṇi + mundirikai* of land comprised in two *taḍi* belonging to Mūṭta-tiruvaḍi of Tiruppāppūr;

the southern boundary is to the north of the $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of land comprised in one *tāḍi*;

the western boundary is to the east of the $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of land comprised in one *taḍi*;

the northern boundary is to the south of the channel;

The land lying between these boundaries which is one *mā* was bestowed as a charitable gift, preceded by a libation of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon and stars (exist) and in lineal succession, and (with the stipulation) that on the *visākha*-day in the Kanni month every year, offerings with 9 *nāli* of good rice by the home-measure should be made to the god Mahādeva of the Tiruvidaikkōḍu temple and that twelve brahmans should be fed therefrom.

No. 40.— Another Inscription at Tiruvidaikkodu.

This record which can be attributed to about the beginning of the 12th century from its writing, is however so badly damaged at its end that nothing could be made of the last two or three lines; but from the legible portion it is seen that it registers a gift of some money by Karpaka-ṣeṭṭi for feeding twelve brahmans

1 Engraved below the line.

2 The writing stops here.

on new-moon days. It may be noted that Ālūr was called Vikramachōla-Pāṇḍyapuram, presumably after either of the two Chōla-Pāṇḍya viceroys Māṇavarman Vikramaśōla-Pāṇḍya or Jaṭavarman Vikramaśōla-Pāṇḍya; and as the alphabet of the record is sufficiently early, it has to be attributed to the time of the former, who was the earlier of the two and who was the second of the viceroys sent out to administer the southern dominions of the Chōla king Rājendrachōla-dēva.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ || ஆளுநர் -
- 2 ன விக்கிரமச்சோழபாண்டி
- 3 யபுரத்து உடையான் பா[ப்ப]னை
- 4 கற்பக செட்டி காரிசாத்தனுக்கு ப
- 5 னக்குடுத்து அமாவாதி நாள்
- 6 பன்னிருவர் பிராமணரை
- 7 அமுதுசெய்விப்பது அது
- 8 க்கு வெண்டுந் காய்ச்சர -
- 9 க்கும் கறி[யு*]ம் அட்டி - ழி . .
- 10 . க . கற்பக
- 11 உப்பு நாழி பால் நாழி . . கு . .
- 12 வர் செய் -
- 13 செ.....கெசு ||

No. 41—Another Tamil Record at Tiruvidaikkodu.

This Tamil inscription is also engraved in Tamil characters on the same rock embedded in the south *prākāra* of the Śiva temple at Tiruvidaikkōḍu. It records the gift of some lands by Uḍaiyaṇ-Ponṇāṇḍi and Uḍaiyāmaṅgala-naṅgai of Marudattūr, a village in Kuṟu-nāḍu for certain offerings to the god and for feeding seven brahmins in the temple during the *dvādaśi* days of the first fortnight.

The same penalties for default as are found in other records of this type are specified here also, *viz.*, that for every occasion of default, double the quantity at default was to be levied, for two occasions the levy of an additional fine in money was also fixed, and for three (consecutive) occasions, the *ūrar* of Marudattūr and the temple servants were empowered to cancel the previous agreements and conduct the charity themselves. The terms *ṇṇu*, *yiraṇḍu* and *mūṇṇu* have to be taken to refer to the number of occasions of default as in other records, rather than to the number of items of the *menu* that were stopped. The tax on these lands was ordered to be met by the persons supervising their cultivation.

Kadigaippaṭṭiṇam was also comprised in Kuṟu-nāḍu.

Text.²

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [1*] துலாத்தில் வி[யாமுன்] நின்ற மெடஞாயி-
- 2 ந்து குமுநாட்டு மருதத்தூர் உதைய-

1 Registered as No. 11 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E. and 48 of 1098 M. E.

2 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. 1084 M. E. and 49 of 1098 M. E.

3. ன் பொன்னுண்டியும் உதையன் மங்-
 4. கலநங்கையும் திருவிடைக்-
 5. காட்டு திருகொயிற்கல் வலுவ-
 6. வசுத்து ஶ்ரீஶ்ரீ ஊட்டுவான் க-
 7. ர்ப்பிச்சது [1*] அகத்த திருவயிது-
 8. க்கு அரி எண்ணழியும் ஶ்ரீஶ்ரீ-
 9. ரெழுவற்கு கற்பிச்ச அரி பதிநா-
 10. ழியும் இதின்னு வெஞ்சனம் பயற
 11. நாழி எரிச்ச கறியும் [உ]லையும் நறு-
 12. நெய் யுழக்கு மிளகு அரையுழக்கு
 13. தெங்நாய் ஒன்று மொர் முந்நா-
 14. ழிஉரி இதின்னு வெண்டும் உப்பு-
 15. ம் புளியும் விறகும் இலையும் -
 16. வற்றிலை யொரடுக்கும் அடைக்கா-
 17. ய் எழுங் கூடி ஶ்ரீஶ்ரீநாளில் ஊ-
 18. ட்டுவான் கற்பிச்ச பூமி [1*] தொட்டி-
 19. காட்டு வெலி மாங்கொட்டு ஞாவ
 20. ந்கற்றடவல் நிலம் குமணி ஐன்-
 21. ஞாழியும் இதின்னு முடொக்கில்
 22. கூடிய நில மிருகுறுணியும் கூ-
 23. டி நிலம் முக்குறுணி அஞ்ஞாழியு-
 24. ம் குடிமார் குழித்துடவல் நிலம்
 25. இருகுறுணியும் பிலாவழறை நில-
 26. ம் நாற்குறுணியுங் கூடி நிலம் அறு-
 27. குறுணியுங் கூடி ஆக நிலம் ஒன்பதி-
 28. ன்குறுணி அஞ்ஞாழியும் அதிகரி-
 29. க்கு மவர்கள் இம்மார்க்க-
 30. மய் செலுத்திவருவது [1*] இ-
 31. தில் ஒன்று முட்டுகில் முட்டி-
 32. ட்டி [1*] யிரண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டி-
 33. ட்டியுந் தெண்டமு [1*] மூன்று முட்டுகில் மரு
 34. தத்தூர் ஊராருந் தெவகன்ம்களஞ்
 35. செலுத்திவிச்சுகொள்வது [1*] தொ-
 36. ட்டிகொட்டு முடொக்கில் கூடிய
 37. நிலத்தின்னு வரும் பிறைவரி நில-
 38. ந் தளமுறியிலு மதின் தாழத்தை வ-
 39. ட்டத்திலும் [பிராய]க்கற்றுடவலிலுங்
 40. குடி எற்றி அந்நிலம்திகரிக்குமவர் [கடமயி]-
 41. றுத்து வருவது [1*] குழித்துடவலிலும பி-
 42. ராவழறையிலும் ஒள்ளியிறை வரி நி-
 43. லங் குடிமார் குழித்து[டவல்] நிலத்[தி]ல் கு-
 44. டி எற்றி அந்நிலம்திகரிக்குமவர் கடமயி-
 45. றுத்து வருவது
 46. இமமாற்கமெ அந்நாடிதலுந் செல்விது¹ [11*]

1 This line is engraved below the section ending with line 22, owing to want of space.

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the Mēdam month when Jupiter stood in Tulām, the following was provided by Ūdaiyāṇ-Ponnāṇḍi and Ūdaiyāṇ maṅgalattu Naṅgai of Marudattūr in Kuṟu-nāḍu, for the feeding (charity) during the *dvādaśi* (days) of the first fortnight, in the temple at Tiruviḍaikkōḍu:—

for the sacred offerings in the central shrine, 8 *nāḷi* of rice;

for seven brahmins, 14 *nāḷi* of rice;

for condiments for the latter, green pulse one *nāḷi*, fried curry, *ulai*, fragrant ghee one *uḷakku*, pepper half *uḷakku* each, cocoanut one, butter-milk three *nāḷi* and one *uri*;

and again for the latter, the required quantities of salt, tamarind, firewood, leaves, one *aḍukku* of betel and seven aracanuts;

for all (the above-mentioned), for feeding on *dvādaśi* days the following lands were provided:—

Jñāvaṛkaṟṟuḍaval field of (the sowing capacity of) one *kuṟuṇi* and five *nāḷi* in Vēlimāṅgōḍu near Toṭṭikkōḍu, together with two *kuṟuṇi* of land in Muḍōkku, *i.e.*, land (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuṟuṇi* and five *nāḷi*;

land in Kuḍimār-ttuḍaval (having the sowing capacity) of two *kuṟuṇi*; land in Pilāvaḷarai (having the sowing capacity) of four *kuṟuṇi*; *i.e.*, land (having the sowing capacity) of six *kuṟuṇi*;

—in all, land (having the sowing capacity) of nine *kuṟuṇi* and five *nāḷi*.

Those who supervise these (lands) shall conduct (the charity) in this manner. If it should fail for one occasion, double the default shall be paid; if for two, double the default and a fine shall be paid; if for three the *ūrār* of Marudattūr and the temple servants shall conduct (the charity) themselves.

Those who supervise the lands shall bring in ryots to the plots called Tāḷamuṇi and those lying below it and Jñāvarruḍaval, and thus pay the tax collectable from the lands included in Māḍōkku in Toṭṭikkōḍu. Those who supervise the lands in Kuḍimārkuḷi-ttuḍaval shall bring in ryots to them and bear the taxes collectable from the fields Kuḷittuḍaval and Pilāvaḷarai.

No. 42.— A Record dated in Kollam 835.

The subjoined record is engraved in Tamil characters on the four faces of a stone pillar set up in the temple compound. It is dated in Kollam 835, and relates to a gift of land made by Perumāḷ-Tāṇuvaṇ for the maintenance of a water-shed on the bank of the Nāchchiyāṛkuḷam and has nothing to do with the Tiruviḍaikkōḍu temple. It appears to have been fixed up within this temple at a later date. The caretaker in charge of the wayside choultry had, in return for the lands which were given over to him for enjoyment, to supply water, pickles, salt, firewood etc. to the wayfarers. Another record of a similar nature has been published *ante*.

1 Pirāykkuṟṟuḍaval may be Jñāvaṛkaṟṟuḍaval.

The donor who is stated to have belonged to the caste (?) called *dēvaputras* of the Kalkulam temple (*Nayinār Kalkulattu-mādvār kōyilil dēvaputararil kaṇakku*) was perhaps a *dēvadāsa*, a temple man-servant, as opposed to his counterpart of the other gender, *dēva-āsi*. On account of hereditary temple service, the members perhaps developed into a separate sub-caste among themselves, as in the case of *ambalavāsīs*, *vāriyārs* etc. It may be noted that *dēva* was also an honorific title used by the *ayambāḍi* body-guards of palaces, but these latter were presumably different from the *dēvaputras* of the present record.

Text.¹

First face

- 1 ஹரி: உன்றாக [1*]
- 2 திருநீலகண்ட -
- 3 சுவாமய்யு அ-
- 4 ம்மை ஆனந்த வ-
- 5 ல்லி அம்மையும
- 6 இலட்ச்சிக்க [1*] -
- 7 கால்லம் அரூய-
- 8 னு ஆவணியீம் உடுவ
- 9 நயினார் கல்குளத்து மாடு-
- 10 தவர் ஷாவிலித் தெய்வ-
- 11 புத்திரரில் கணக்கு பெருமாள்
- 12 தாணுவன் நாச்சியார்க்கு-
- 13 ளக்தின் கரையில் அம்பல-
- 14 ம் நீர்[வ*] ஷயும் பெணி தியும(ந்)
- 15 தண்ணீரும் சண்ணம்பும்
- 16 மாந்தலையும் நட்டு ஆக்கி-
- 17 ச் செய்கிற பெர்களுக்கு சந்-
- 18 திராதித்தவரைக்கும் விட்-
- 19 டு குடுத்த நிலமாவது [1*] நாஞ்சி-

Second side.

- 20 னாட்டில் எறிச்சிக்கு-
- 21 ளத்தில் அய்யக்குட்டி
- 22 மாடன் ஓடு சொரா -
- 23 வாற்றி கொண்ட நில-
- 24 த்துக்கு எல்கை-
- 25 யாவது [1*] மெப்ப்படி
- 26 ஊரில் பெய்ச்சா-
- 27 ன் குளத்தின்கிள் ந-

- 28 டுவில் மடைப்பொ-
- 29 க்கு தடி ஒன்று நிலம்
- 30 அரமாவுக்கு எல்லை-
- 31 கயாவது கீழ் எல்லை-
- 32 க மணலிக்கரை
- 33 கண்டு உழவு நில-
- 34 த்துக்கும் மெக்குத்
- 35 தென்னெல்கை
- 36 சந்திரப்பாலன்
- 37 நிலத்துக்கு வடத்-
- 38 கு மெல்லெல்லை-
- 39 க மணலிக்கரை
- 40 கண்டு உழவு நில-
- 41 த்துக்கும் கிளக்கு வட-
- 42 எல்கை மெல்ப்படி
- 43 வகை நிலத்துக்கும்

Third face.

- 44 தெற்கு ஆக இவ்சொந்த பெ-
- 45 ருநாண்டெல்கைக்கு உளப்பட்ட
- 46 தடி ஒன்று நிலம் அரமாவும் மெ-
- 47 ல்ப்படி ஊரில் [நா]மக்குள-
- 48 ததின கிழ்வடக்கு மடை-
- 49 ப்பொக்கு தடி ஒன்று நில-
- 50 ம் காணியரைக்காணி-
- 51 க்கு எல்கையாவது கிழ்-
- 52 எல்கை தாழைப்பெரு-
- 53 மாள் நிலத்துக்கும் மெ-
- 54 க்குத் தென்னெல்கை
- 55 அய்யப்பன் பெருமாள்
- 56 மடத்துக்கு விட்டுக் குடு-

1 Registered as No. 12 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

57 த்த நிலத்துக்கும வடக்கு
58 மெல்லலகை எடுத்-
59 த(ர)பாதம பின்னா நில-
60 த்துக்கும் கிழக்கு வடஎல்-
61 கை ஆண்டார் நிலத்து-
62 க்கும் தெக்கு ஆக இவ்விசெர்-
63 த பெருநான்கு எல்கை-
64 க்கு உள்ப்பட்ட தடி
65 ஒன்று நிலம் காணி அ-
66 ரைக்காணியும் ஆக
67 தடி யிரண்டினால் நில-
68 ம் முக்காணி அரை-

Fourth face.

69 க்காணிக் கு உண்-
70 டான இறைகரும்
71 பெர்த்தி செழும்
72 ஒள்ள மிச்சவரா-
73 ம் இந்த அம்பலத்தி-

74 லெயிருந்து தீயும்
75 தண்ணீரும் சு-
76 ண்ணும்பும் உப்-
77 பு ண்றுகாயும்
78 குடுத்து வினா குறை
79 ஆராய்ந்து நடுத-
80 ல் நட்டு இருக்கிற செ-
81 பர்கள் அடுத்து யா-
82 விச்சு கொள்ளுவ-
83 றாராகவும் இப்படி
84 யாவிச்சு பொருடு-
85 மடத்து இந்த நில-
86 த்துக்கும் இந்த தன்
87 மமர்த்துக்கும் அரு-
88 தம் செய்கிற பெர்-
89 கள் கெவ்கைக்க-
90 ரையில் காராம்ப-
91 சுவை கொன்ற செ-
92 தாழ்த்த பொவார் ஆ-
93 கவும் [11*].

Translation.

Hari ! Be it well : May god Tirunīlākāṇṭha and goddess Ānandavallī protect (us).

On the 25th day of Āvaṇi in the Kollam year 835, Perumāḷ-Taṇuvaṇ of the community of Daivaputra, an accountant of the temple of Mahādēva at Kalkuḷam erected a rest-house, dug a drinking well on the bund of the tank (called) Nāchchiyārkuḷam, and (also) gave as long as the moon and sun endure, the following land for (the supply of) fuel, water and chunam and for (the maintenance of) him who plants and rears mango plants.

The boundaries of the land which was taken on a perpetual lease from Ayyakkuṭṭi-Māḍaṇ in Erichchikuḷam in Nāṇji-nāḍu and the boundaries of the *taḍi* of land, half *mā* in extent, lying along the course of the central channel of the Pēychchaṅguḷam in the same village are:— the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the crown lands in Maṇalikkaraḷ; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the land belonging to Chandirappāḷaṇ; the western boundary (is) to the east of the crown lands in Maṇalikkaraḷ; and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the same land:— *i. e.*, the *taḍi* of land between these four great boundaries is half *mā* in extent.

In the same village, the boundaries of the *taḍi* of land, one and a half *kāṇi* in extent lying in the course of the northern sluice of the tank called [Nāra] kkuḷam are:— the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the land belonging to Tāḷaipperumāḷ; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the land assigned to the *maṭha* of Ayyappaṇ-Perumāḷ; the western boundary (is) to the east of the land belonging to Eḍuttapādam-Pillai; the northern boundary (is) to the south of

the land belonging to *Āṇḍār i. e.*, the *taḍi* of land one and a half *kāṇi* in extent lying between these four great boundaries;—

in all, two *taḍi* of land, three and a half *kāṇi* in extent.

The balance of produce (*vāram*) remaining after (payment of) taxes on these lands was to be enjoyed by those who reside in this rest-house, supply fuel, water, chunam, salt and pickles (to wayfarers), supervise the general conduct (of the charity) and attend to the planting (of trees).

When this is being thus enjoyed, those who do evil to this land and to this charity, shall incur the sin of having killed a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges.

No. 43— A record dated in Saka 1649.

This is another record relating to the feeding of fifty-four brahmans during *dvādaśi* in the temple of Kōḍambiśvaramudaiya-Nayinār at Tiruvidaikkōḍu, for which some lands were given by Perumāṇ-Kaṇḍaṇ, the accountant (*kaṇakku*) of Maṇavāḷakkurichchi in Kāḍaigaipattāṇam, a village of Kuru-nāḍu which was a sub-division of Rājaraṇja-Tēṇṇāḍu.

Rājaraṇja-Tēṇṇāḍu was the name of the southern portion of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, which Rājaraṇja had conquered and had rechristened in his own name. From the fact that Kāḍaigaipattāṇam was situated in Kuru-nāḍu, this sub-division can be located in the modern Eraniel taluk. It may be noted that *kurichchi* and *paṭṭinam* at the ends of place-names are significant of their topographical positions, *kurichchi*, being the name of the hamlets of *kurinjinila-mākkal* or hill tribes and *paṭṭinam* that of the villages on the sea-coast in *neydal-nilam*, (e. g., Nāgapattinam, Kulasekharapattinam)¹.

Text.²

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1 [சகா]த்தம் க ²⁵ கா- | 16 ட்டத்தில் இருந்து இரா- |
| 2 சயக செல்லாநின்ற | 17 சராச தென்னாட்டுக்கு |
| 3 மெட வியாழம் நின்- | 18 றுநாட்டு கழிகைபட்ட- |
| 4 ற கொல்லம் ³ கூர்நன் | 19 ணம் மணவாளகுறி- |
| 5 நிலவங்கவருமும் | 20 ச்சியில் கணக்கு ³ பெருமான் க- |
| 6 மெடமாதம் உயகெ- | 21 ண்டன் துவாதெசி உ- |
| 7 சன்ற புத்தனாட்சை- | 22 ட்டுக்கு தானப்பிறமா- |
| 8 பு மகவும் பூர்[வ*]பகூ- | 23 ணமாக விட்ட நிலம்மா- |
| 9 த்து தெசமியும் கர[ச*]கர- | 24 விது [1*] திருவிடைக்- |
| 10 ண்மும் வைறுத்தி நித்தி- | 25 காட்டு செய்கொல்- |
| 11 யயொகவும் பெ[ற்*]ற- | 26 க்குளத்தின் கிழம் வெ- |
| 12 ந் நாளால் திருவிடை- | |
| 13 கொட்டு கொட்டி- | |
| 14 இச்சுரமுடைய நயி- | |
| 15 னார் திருமுக்கால் வ- | |
| | <i>Second face.</i> |
| | 27 ப்பறைக்குள- |
| | 28 த்தின் கிழம் |
| | 29 நீருண்டு நெல் |

1 குறிச்சி கிறுநேரே தீமார் குறிஞ்சினன்னிலத்தூர்ப்பேராம்
பறித்திடு முல்லைநேரே பாடி பட்டினமே செய்தல் — *Chudāmaṇi*.

2 Registered as No. 13 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 A. D.

3 The English equivalent is A. D. 1727, April 19; '81; 32.

- 30 விளையும் த-
 31 ட்டாந்துட-
 32 வல்லும் வெ-
 33 ப்பறையும் தடி
 34 உ வ¹ அபயம் உ-
 35 ளற்றிக்குளத்தி-
 36 ன் கிழ ஊற்று
 37 உள்ளிட்ட தடி.
 38 க வ களாயம்²
 39 இடைக்கெ-
 40 ரட்டு பற்றில்
 41 இடைக்கெ-
 42 ரட்டு குளத்-
 43 தின் கிழ ம-
 44 திலடி
 45 க வ³ நுயும் க-
 46 னினாட்டு-
 47 பற்றில் புங்-
 48 கறைக்குள-
 49 த்தின் கிழ[ம்*]
 50 ஷை தனக்கு-
 51 முக்கியும் செ-
 52 சல்லன் குள-
Third face.
 53 த்தின் கிழும் நிரு-
 54 ண்டுநெல் விளையும்
 55 நெடுங்கண் தடி
 56 க வ⁴ ப⁴யும் ஷை புரவி-
 57 ல் நடுவுக்கொடு
 58 தடி க வ⁵ தயும் ஆக தடி
 59 றுளல் வ⁶ உள்ளப-
 60 யும் துவாதெசி ஊ-
 61 ட்டுக்கு சடையப்பர்
 62 கொவில் ஊ-
 63 ட்டுபிரை மெக்டெ-
 64 க நடையில் கல்லு
 65 வெட்டி நாட்டுகையி-
 66 ல் இந்த உ உளபயும்⁶
 67 பிரமத்துவமாக தி-
 68 ருவிடைக்கொட்டும்
- 69 கனிஞாங்கொடு
 70 கிராமத்தார் வசம் கை-
 71 ய்பாளிக்கெயில் கி-
 72 பண்டார்க்கும் யடி
 73 கடமையும் இறுத்து
 74 [து*]வாதெசி தொறும் ரு-
 75 யச பிரமணர்க்கு
 76 ஊட்டுபிரையில்
 77 வைச்ச ஊட்டு ந-
 78 டத்தி பெருமான் கண்டன்
Fourth face.
 79 தறவாட்டில்
 80 துவாதெசி-
 81 தொறும் சவ
 82 அரிசி சொறும்
 83 கொடுத்த தற்-
 84 ம்பத்தர் ரெ[க]-
 85 ள்ப்பிச்சு
 86 ஆசெந்திர-
 87 வற் ஊட்டு
 88 நடத்திக்கொள்-
 89 வாராகவும்[1*] இந்-
 90 த தற்ம்மத்தை
 91 நடத்திவருகி-
 92 றவன் கெங்-
 93 கைக்கரையி-
 94 ல் காராம்பசு
 95 தர்னம் செ-
 96 ய்த பலத்தை-
 97 த யடைவாரா-
 98 கவும்[1*] இத்தற்-
 99 மம் முடக்கின
 100 பெர்கள் கெ-
 101 ன்[கை] கரையில்
 102 காராம்பசு-
 103 வக் கொன்ற தொ-
 104 ழும் அடையவும்[1*]
 105 இந்த கல்லு
 106 7

1 தடி உ நிலம் என்னுறனியும்.

2 நிலம் ஒரு கலனும்.

3 நிலம் முக்குறனியும்.

4 நிலம் அறுகுறனியும்.

5 நிலம் தூனியும்.

6 நிலம் இருகலனே எழுக்குறனியும்.

7 The last line may have contained the word 'காட்டியது'.

Translation.

In the Śaka year 1649 when Jupiter stood in Mēdam, corresponding to (the) Kollam (year) 902 and the (cyclic) year Plavaṅga, on the 21st (day) of the month of Mēdam, (which was) a Wednesday, and the tenth *tithi* in the first fortnight with nakshatra Makha, *kara(śa)-karaṇam* and *vairutti-nityayōga*—on this day, the lands which Perumāṇ-Kaṇḍaṇ, the accountant of Maṇavāḷakkuruchchi (a hamlet of Kaḍikaiṇṭṭam in Kuṟu nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Rājarāja-Tenṇāḍu, gave as charity while present in the temple (*tirumukkālvattam*) of (the god) Kōḍam-bīśvaramudaiya-nayinār of Tiruvaḍaikkōḍu, for the purpose of feeding on *dvādaśi* days, are the following:—

two *taḍi* of land (called) Taṭṭāṇ-tuḍaval and Vēpparai (having the sowing capacity) of 8 *kuruni*, which are irrigable by the Śeykāḷ and Vēpparai tanks for growing paddy;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam* under the tank called Ūṟrikkūḷam, inclusive of the spring;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuruni* under the Iḍaikkōḍu tank in Iḍaikkōṭṭu-parṟu;

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of six *kuruni* irrigable for growing paddy from tanks called Puṅgaraikkūḷam, Taṇikkūḷam, and Sellanṅūḷam in Kaṇijñāṭṭu-parṟu;

in the same division, one *taḍi* of land in Naḍuvukkōḍu (having the sowing capacity) one *tūni*;

—in all, from these five *taḍi*, land (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and seven *kuruni* (was given) for the feeding (of brahmins) during *dvādaśi* (days) and (this gift) was engraved on a stone which was fixed up at the western entrance of the feeding-house of the temple of Śaḍaiyappar.

This land (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and seven *kuruni* was left as *brahmasvām* under the supervision of the villagers of Tiruviḍaikkōḍu and Kaṇijñāṅgōḍu (with the stipulation) that the taxes were to be paid to the temple-treasurers, that fifty-four brahmins should be fed during each *dvādaśi* in the feeding-house, that cooked food of four *nāḷi* of rice should be given during each *dvādaśi* to the *taravad* of Perumāṇ-Kaṇḍaṇ and that the feeding should be conducted as long as the moon exists, under the supervision of the *dharma-karttās*.

Those that conduct this charity shall obtain the merit of presenting a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges, and those that obstruct it shall obtain the sin of killing a tawny cow there.

This stone

No. 44— Inscriptions on pillars in the same temple.

The following inscriptions are labels found on the pillars supporting the circumambulatory passage round the shrine in the Tiruviḍaikkodu temple and record the names of their respective donors. They are not important in themselves, but as it is advisable to bring together all the records relating to the temple in one

place, these are also printed below. One point only is noticeable that all the lables evidently belong to the same year as that mentioned in a few viz: Kollam 769 Arpasì, 12, when the *Surra-mandapa* appears to have been re-constructed.

A

- 1 பாறைச்சாலை.
- 2 தெசத்து கண-
- 3 க்கு நாகன் ஆ-
- 4 திச்சன் பத்தி
- 5 ஒன்றுக்கு கொடு-
- 6 த்த ராஉய

B

- 1 பள்ளத்து
- 2 பள்ளச்சை
- 3 டும்பய்யன்
- 4 கண்ணன்
- 5 பத்திகக்கு
- 6 ட [ராஉய]

C

- 1 கழைக்கூட்ட-
- 2 ம் தெசத்து
- 3 கணக்கு இரா-
- 4 மன் தெவன்
- 5 செய்வித்த பத்-
- 6 தி க க்கு ர [ராஉய]

D

- 1 பாத்திசெகர-
- 2 மங்நலம் தெ-
- 3 சத்தில் ஒற்றவி-
- 4 ளாகத்து விட்டில்
- 5 செகிவிச்ச ப-
- 6 த்தி. க

E

- 1 குட்டமங்க-
- 2 லத் தெசத்து
- 3 கணக்குப் பெரு
- 4 மனை தர்மன்
- 5 கிட்டணன் செ-
- 6 ய்வித்து கு-
- 7 தெத்த பத்திக

F

- 1 மருதத்தார்
- 2 தெசத்து க-
- 3 ணக்கு இக்க-
- 4 வான் அய்யப்ப-
- 5 ன் செய்விச்ச
- 6 பத்தி க்கு ர [ராஉய]

G

- 1 திருவிடை-
- 2 க்கொட்டு
- 3 தெவர் புத்-
- 4 திரரில் புது-
- 5 லூர் சடை-
- 6 பன் சங்-
- 7 கரன் தூண்

H

- 1 குழிக்காட்டு சா-
- 2 த்தன் அரங்நன்
- 3 செய்விச்ச பத்தி
- 4 ஒன்று

I

- 1 பள்ளத்து
- 2 கிறபள்ளி மருதன்
- 3 நாகன் செ-
- 4 யிவிச்ச பத்தி
- 5 க க்கு ர . .

J

- 1 நடுவில் விளாட்-
- 2 டிரையில் நலத்-
- 3 தான் பெருமாள்
- 4 செய்விச்ச
- 5 பத்தி க

K

- 1 ளாகயக (ஹ) அற்பகி
- 2 மாதம் யெ மாச்சி-
- 3 கொட்டு முடவம்-
- 4 புறத்து பெரிய தி-
- 5 ருவடி நயினர்
- 6 திருவணந்தாழ்வான்
- 7 செய்வித்த பத்தி-
- 8 ஒன்றுக்கு குடு-
- 9 த்த ராஉய

L

- 1 ளாகயக (ஹ)
- 2 அற்பகி மாத-
- 3 ம் யெ திருக்கா-
- 4 . ண்பபத்தம் .
- 5 யில் தெக்கெ ந-
- 6 டையும் வடக-
- 7 கெ. நடையும

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 8 . . குற்ற . . | 2 கொளன் எழுந்தருளியிச்ச |
| 9 . . கீத்தவ . . . | 3 திருப்பூப்பலகை |
| 10 | ௩ |
| 1 வீலி துளி [*] மருதத்தார் தெவன் | 1 கல்லாத் போதிக்கு சடயப்பர் |
| | துணை |

No. 45—Kalliyangadu inscription of Kollam 864.

This record, which is engraved in Tamil on the four sides of a pillar set up in the Bhagavatī temple at Kalliyangadu in the Eraniel taluk, registers the gift of some lands made by a certain Chidambaram-Ilayyanayinār for offerings and worship to the god Vināyaka set up by him in the *matha* of the village and named Chidambara Vināyaka-ppillaiyār, after himself. The inscription contains elaborate details of the lands given and of the scales of expenditure to be met in the proper conduct of the charity. The English date is A. D. 1688, November 10; '83; f.d.n. '14.

Text.¹

- 1 மகரத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கொ-
- 2 ல்லம் அரகம்ச னு காத்திகை
- 3 ரு ககை சனியாட்சையும்
- 4 சொதியும் அமரபக்கிழ்சத்து
- 5 திறியொதெசியும் சவுபாக்கி-
- 6 யபொகமும் ஆனைக்கரணமும்
- 7 பெற்ற இன்னுழால் எழுதின உத-
- 8 கபூறுவ தன்ம[த]ான பட்டைய-
- 9 மாவது [*] தென்னாட்டுக்குறு நா-
- 10 ட்டு விரநாராயணசெரிக் கி[ழ்]பால்
- 11 கள்ளியங்காட்டில் சிதம்பரம்
- 12 இளையநடுனென் ஷெ யூரில் மட-
- 13 த்தில் சிதம்பர வினாயகப்பிள்ளை-
- 14 யார்க்கு உதகபூறுவ தன்மதான-
- 15 ப் பட்டையம் எழுதிக் குடுத்த நில-
- 16 மாவது [*] ஷெ யூரில் அஞ்சனவன்
- 17 குளத்தாலும் ஆலடித்தனிக்குழி-
- 18 யாலும் நிருண்டு நெல் விளையும்
- 19 முடங்கன் தடி கடை உதகப²ம் துலுக்-
- 20 க்கன் வயல் தடி கடை உதக³ம் கிழ் ந-
- 21 வெத்தடி தடி கடை தக⁴ம் கிழ்-
- 22 க்கரையடியும் கொழுவடி
- 23 நம் ஆக தடி சடை தக⁵ம் கொல்ல-

1 Registered as No. 14 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

2 இருதாணி முக்குறுணி.

3 இருதாணிப்பதக்கு.

4 தாணி நறுணி நாகாழி.

5 தாணி முக்குறுணி.

- 24 குளத்தின் கிழ் மெட்டுமடைப்பெ-
 25 ரக்கில் தண்டான்பறம்பு தடி கஉ¹ க-
 26 ள உ.தம் நெடுங்குழி ஆலங்குழி-
 27 யால் நிருண்டு நெல் விளையும்
 28 ஆயத்துறை வயல் தடி. உ.உ.உ ள²ம்
 29 காஞ்சிரங்குழியில் கிழ்கரை-

Second face.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| 30 யடி தடி கஉ ³ களத- | 31 பம் ஆக தடி பல- |
| 32 தினுல் உ ⁴ அளப | 33 ம் நெடுங்குழி |
| 34 ஆலங்குழியில் | 35 தனிக்குழி இர- |
| 36 ண்டும் அஞ்ச- | 37 னவன்குளத்தி- |
| 38 ல் தனிக்குழி ஒன்- | 39 றும் ஆலடித்- |
| 40 தனிக்குழியில் | 41 நின்ற அஞ்சன- |
| 42 வன்கொணம் | 43 உள்ளிட்ட பி- |
| 44 ள்ளையார் நில- | 45 த்துக்கும் தன்- |
| 46 மபத்தா நில- | 47 த்துக்கும் பொ- |
| 48 க்கி உள்ள தன்- | 49 ணீர் பிள்ளையா- |
| 50 ர்க்கு ஒரு கூ. றும | 51 தன்மபத்தாவு- |
| 52 க்கு இரு கூ. றுமா- | 53 க நடப்பிச்சு- |
| 54 க் கொள்ளவும் | 55 காஞ்சினுட்டு |
| 56 அழகியபாண் | 57 டியபுரத்து பெ- |
| 58 நியகுளத்தின் - | |

Third face.

- 59 (ங்)களகமாய் மெல்க்கால்ப்-
 60 பெரக்கு பெய்கொட்டு பத்தில்
 61 பிள்ளையார் பெர் மட ஒத்தியும்
 62 சொரா ஒத்தியும் கொண்டநிலம்
 63 முதல் தடிதடி கஉ. உளஉத 1 உ தடிதடி
 64 உஉ⁵ ள கூ || ௩ தடிதடி கஉ⁶ ரு எ
 65 ச தடிதடி கஉ உத—|| ௫ தடிதடி ௨௩ கஉ. எ-
 66 ஷை தடிதடி கஉ. . ௨௩ ஷை தடி தடி கஉ சு-
 67 ரு எ ஆக தடி பலதினில் உ உ ப எக-
 68 || க்கும் ஆக உள்ள நிலங்களுக்கு
 69 எல்லா இறைகளும் இறுத்து இயாவி-
 70 ச்சு பொதுவாராகவும் [1*] இப்படி.
 71 இந்த உதக்கூறுவ தன்மதான ப-
 72 ட்டையம் எழுதிக் குடுத்தென்
 73 சிதம்பரம் இளையநயினுனென்
 74 சிதம்பர வினாயகப்பிள்ளையா-

1 கலனே இருதூணி.

2 இருகலம்.

3 கலனே தூண்க்குறுணி.

4 எண்கலனே குறுணி.

5 இருகலனே இருதூணி.

6 The symbols are not understood.

- 75 ருக்கு [I*] இப்படிக்கு சிதம்பரம்
 76 இளைய நயினன் எழுத்து [II*]
 77 பெயொட்டுப்பற்றில் உ ஸஸாகு
 78 III க்கு இறை நெல் கோ¹ நடுநெய் கள்ளி-
 79 யங்காட்டு வகையில் உ² அளப-
 80 க்கு கடமை நெல் கோ சடுந ஆக வகை
 81 உனல் ஹு க-க்கு கோ எடுநெய் பிள்-
 82 னையார் பூசைக்கு கோ கூவ ந³ விசெ-
 83 ஷ பூசைக்கு கோ ந மடத்து பண்டார-
 84 த்துக்கு கோ நெய் பாதெசியக்கு கோ
 85 உயுந தன்மபத்தாவுக்கு கோ மெ
 86 கணக்குப்பிள்ளைக்கு கோ கூ ஆக
 87 னு க-க்கு சிலவு கோ கூடுகவ ஸ⁵

Fourth face.

- 88 மடத்தில் நம்முடைய
 89 குருக்கள் எழுந்தருளி-
 90 னால் ஒரு நாள் பூசை
 91 சிலவு நடப்பிச்ச குடு-
 92 க்கவும் சிதம்பரம்
 93 இளையநயினன் பிறந்த
 94 நாள் ஆடி மீ⁴ம் சித்திரைக்கு
 95 பாதெசிகளுக்கும் நம்மு-
 96 டைய ஊராருக்கும் வை-
 97 ச்சுட்டுச் சிலவுக்கு ஹு
 98 மிளர் க்கு உபையம் எ-
 99 கூ⁶ எ லுயும் கொண்டு ந-
 100 டப்பிச்ச கொள்வாரா-
 101 கவும் மடத்துக்கு வெண்-
 102 டிம் செய்தி நம்முடை-
 103 ய ஊரார் விசாரித்து
 104 கொள்ளவும் இந்த மட-
 105 த்துக்கும் தன்மத்துக்கும்
 106 ஆராமொருவர் அருத்-
 107 ம் நினைக்கிறவர் கெங்-
 108 கைக் கரையில் காரா-
 109 ம்பசுவை கொன்ற டெ-
 110 தாஷமும் ிரம்முத்தி-
 111 யிர் தொஷமும் கை-

1 கோட்டை 33½.

2 நிலம் என்கலனே பதக்குக்கு.

3 கோட்டை 76½.

4 கோட்டை 6 + ½ + 1½.

5 கோட்டை 69 + ½ + 1½.

6 நெல் பதினேங்கலன்.

7 நெல் கோட்டை 7½.

Thus did I, Chidambaram-Ilayanayināṇ, write the deed of gift with libation of water to Chidambara-Vināyakappillaiyār. This is the writing of Chidambaram-Ilayanayināṇ.

The tax on of land in Pēyottupparru is $33\frac{1}{2}$ *kōttai* of paddy, and the tax on 8 *kalam* one *kurūṇi* of land in Kaḷliyaṅgāḍu is 43 *kōttai* of paddy; thus from $76\frac{1}{2}$ *kōttai* of paddy from these two lands was to be given $6 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{16}$ *kōttai* of paddy for the worship of Pillaiyār, 3 *kōttai* of paddy for special worship (to the same god), $13\frac{1}{2}$ *kōttai* of paddy for the *maṭha*-stores, $25\frac{1}{2}$ *kōttai* of paddy for mendicants (*paraṇśās*), 12 *kōttai* of paddy to the temple trustees and 9 *kōttai* for the accountant:

—in all, the expenses for one year are $69 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{16}$ *kōttai* of paddy.

If our *guru* should be pleased to visit our *maṭha*, the expenses for one day's worship (to him) shall be met. The expenses of 15 *kalam* required for feeding mendicants and the *ūrār* of the village on the day of the Chitrā-nakshatra in the month of Aḍi, the day on which Chidambaram Ilayanayināṇ was born, shall also be defrayed from $7\frac{1}{2}$ *kōttai* of paddy provided therefor. The affairs of the *maṭha* shall be looked after by the *ūrār* of this village.

Those that contemplate evil towards this *maṭha* and this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges and of killing a brahman. Those that do good to this *maṭha* and this charity shall obtain the merit of one crore of gifts bestowed on (the banks of) the Ganges.

No. 46—Two Tamil Records from Tiruppatisaram.

The subjoined two records are found in the Viṣṇu temple at Tiruppatisāram which is a village in the Tovala taluk of the Padmanabhapuram Division and is one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* of Vaiṣṇava repute. Only one fragmentary record of this temple dated in Kollam 304 (= A. D. 1129) has been published hitherto. From the fact that the Vaiṣṇava saint Nammālvār has sung about it, it can be stated that the temple must have dated from at least the end of the 8th century A. D, if not earlier, and that the god was known by the name of Tiruvālmārbaṇ then, as now.

But it may be remarked that while Nammālvār describes the god as a sitting image of Viṣṇu,

வருவார் செல்வார் வண்பரிசாரத்து இருந்த என்

கருவாழ்மார்வற்கு என் திறம் சொல்லார் செய்வதென்—(VIII-3-7),

Pillaipperumāḷ-Ayyaṅgār (12th century A. D.) says that the image was in the recumbent posture of a *sayanamūrti*,

அடியுக்குளிர்ந்தா ளறிவுக்குலைந்தாண்

முடி கின்றூண் முச்சடங்குமுன்னே—கடிதோடிப்

பெண் பரிசாரங்குப் பிறப்பித்து மீளுவார்

வண்பரிசாரங் கிடந்தமாற்கு—*Nūrreṭṭu-tiruppati-andādi*, v. 60

The 12th century record mentioned above, refers to the god of the temple as

திருப்பதரிசாரத்து வீற்றிருந்தருளின எம்பெருமான்

and as the present image, a *saudha-mūrti*, is in the same sitting posture, we have to consider that Pillaippermāl has made a mistake in his description and that the variant reading திருவண்பரிசாரம் மிருந்த மாந்து is more acceptable. *Māranalankāram*¹ has one verse in praise of this image, but it does not discuss its postural detail.

It is noteworthy that while inscriptions mention *Tiruppatīsāram* (the essence of sacred places) as the name, the Vaishṇava works invariably call it as *Tiruvan-parisāram*.

On the east wall of the first prākāra of the Viṣṇu temple.

Text.¹

- 1 கொல்லம் ளாஅய்கு ஹு ஆவணிமாதம் உமொ உ அமாபக்கிழத்து சத்த-
- 2 டியும் வெள்ளியாட்சையும் உரொ கணியும் இன்னொளால் நயினர் திருவா-
முமார்ப நயி-
- 3 னர்க்கு ஆவணிமாதம் திருவொணத்திருநாள் நடக்கும்படிக்கு அக்கா
தெச்சுர . . சம்புநாராய-
- 4 னா நம்பி கணக்காக தென் ம் திருவொணத்தினாள் மண்டபத்தில் எழு-
ந்தருவிச்சு கிறப்புக்கு அமு-
- 5 துபடி உவக உ பால் பாயிதத்துக்கு அமுதுபடி இருமழி பாயிதத்துக்-
கும் கிறப்புக்கும் கறியமுதுக்குந் தெங்-
- 6 காய் உ- பணிமாறவும் பக்கினத்துக்கும் நெய் உய்ய இலையமுது யி க்கு
- 7 அடைக்காயமுது னு பாயிதத்துக்கு சக்கரை பலம் ச திருமுன் விளக்கு
இரண்டுக்கு எண்ணை னு கை-
- 8 . . . சாமம் க சீபாதந்தாங்கும் பிராமணர் பெர் ச க்கு உ வித்துவா-
ங்க
- 9 னா(னாக)க்கு ச- திருமுன் பந்தத்துக்கும் விளக்கும் ச உ திருச்சுற்றில்
எழுந்த
- 10 னாவிச்சால் நெத்தியத்துக்கும் பொரியமுது உஉ சர்க்கரை பலம் க இலைய-
- 11 முதுலிக்கு அடைக்காய் னு சாத்துப்படி பலம் இநயினர் சடையபுர
முனை-
- 12 டயநயினர்க்கு அமுதுபடி உஉ அம்பனார்க்கண்டஞ் சாத்தனுக்கு அ-
- 13 முதுபடி உஉயும் அம்மை திருப்பதிநங்கைக்கு அமுதுபடி ௨ ஆக இந்த-
ப்படி-
- 14 யெ நடக்கும்படி கற்பித்து நாராயணநம்பி குடுத்த சாருமி இந்-
- 15 த பணம் நூற்றன்பதும் சீபண்டாரத்தில் பற்றிக்கொண்டு இந்-
- 16 தப் பணத்தின் உபையத்துக்கு ஆண்டுதொறும் சீபண்டாரத்தி-

1 பூரித்தெழுந்த புணர் முலையப் புல்விவிடா
வாரித்தளவடநீரைதாம்—நேரிழையார்
மட்டார் பொழில் வண்பரிசாரம் மாதந்த சாட்-
பட்டாதரித்தனவோ பண்டு

— verse 549.

2 Registered as No. 63 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1984 M. E.

- 17 ல் நின்றும் நடத்திப்பொதுவாராகவும் இதுவும் ஷேயான் க.
 18 ணக்காக துவாதேசி ஒன்றுக்கு நமக்காரம் ஒன்றாக மாதம்
 19 ஒன்றுக்கு நமக்காரம் பெர் உக்கு அரிசி உடக்கு ஸ எஉரியும் கரியமு-
 து ன- உஉ உரி
 20 ஆக இந்தப்படி நடக்கும்மாறு கற்பித்தது ஷேயான் கணக்காக சீபண்-
 டாரத்தில் குடுத்த
 21 ஈடும் இந்தப் பணத்தினுபையத்துக்கு சீபண்டாரத்தில் நின்றும் நட-
 த்திப் பொதுவா-
 22 ராகவும். [11*].

Translation.

On the 27th day of the month of Āvaṇi in the Kollam year 789 which was a Friday with *saptami-tithi* of the *amara-paksha* and *Rōhiṇī-nakshatra*, *Sambu-nārāyaṇa-Nambi* gave 150 *paṇam* for the conduct of the festival on *Tiruvōṇam* in the Āvaṇi month to the god *Tiruvālmārbaṇ* with the following scale of expenditure:—

for *śirāppu* expenses (to the god) when he is pleased to be present in the *maṇḍapa* on the *Tiruvōṇam* day, one *padakku* and six *nāḷi* of rice, for *pāyasam* with milk, two *nāḷi* of rice, for the above and for curry two cocoanuts, for serving and for cakes one *āḷākkū* of ghee, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts, 4 *palam* of sugar for *pāyasam*, one *āḷākkū* of oil for the two lights in front (of the god), 2 *paṇam* to four brahman-bearers of the image, 3 *paṇam* for paddy seed per year, 2 *paṇam* for torch and light in front of the god, 2 *nāḷi* for fried rice-offering on the occasion of the god's procession in the *surru-maṇḍapam*, sugar one *palam*, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts, $\frac{1}{2}$ *palam* of *śāttuppaḍi*, 2 *nāḷi* of rice to the god *Śaḍaiyapuramuḍaiya-Nayinār*, 2 *nāḷi* of rice to the *Sāstā* of *Ambanūrkaṇḍam*, and one *nāḷi* of rice to the goddess *Tiruppatinaṅgai*.

This amount of 150 *paṇam* was received into the temple-treasury and the above was agreed to be conducted every year.

The same individual also gave 50 *paṇam* and the *bhaṇḍāra* agreed therefor to feed, at the rate of one man on every *dvādaśi* day, 2 brahmans every month with 3 *nāḷi* of rice and curry for which were given respectively 7 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy and 3 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

No. 47— Tiruppatisaram record of Kollam 961.

This record which is engraved on a slab of stone built into the floor next to the entrance into the first *prākāra* of the Vishṇu temple at Tiruppatisāram, registers the fact that the paving of the floor with stone flags was accomplished by a private individual, *Kuppāṇ-chiṭṭi* of the village of *Pillaiyārkkōyil*, a hamlet of *Kalkuḷam* in the Kollam year 961.

Text.¹

- 1 உகாசகயக ஹு ஆவணி மீ
- 2 யநவ குருவாரமும் அசுபதி-
- 3 நட்செத்திரமும் யின்னாள்
- 4 திருப்பதிசார கொயில்
- 5 ஒத்தைக்கல் மண்டபம்
- 6 சன்னதிநடையில் கல்[கு]-
- 7 ளம் பிள்ளையார்கொயில்
- 8 கிராமத்தில் குப்பான் சிட்டி.
- 9 கணக்கா யிட்டு இட்ட தள[ம்]-
- 10 ப்பணி திருவாளிமா[ற் ப]-
- 11 ன் சுவாமியை சதாசொர்வை[வ] [||*]

Translation.

On the 13th day of the month of Āvaṇi in the (Kollam) year 961, which was a Thursday with nakshatra Aśvati, the work of paving the floor in front of the *ottaikkal-maṇḍapa* in the temple at Tiruppatīsāram, was the service (done) to the god Tiruvālimāraṇ by Kuppāṇ-chitti of Pīlāiyārkoṇyil-grāma in Kalkulam.

No. 48—Kulitturai inscription.

This inscription is engraved on a rock in the north side of the Siva temple at Kulitturai. It is in the Vatteluttu alphabet and the Tamil language. It is not dated in any Kollam year, but may, on palaeographical considerations, be assigned roughly to the 15th century A. D. It records an assignment of money and lands by a native of Ayiramaṇṇam for feeding brahmins.

Text.²

- 1 கர்க்கடக ஞாயிற்று அமாவாசி நாள் நாகமங்க-
- 2 லத்து தெவன் தெவன் பனையரிக்கண்டமு[ம்*] ஊம-
- 3 ன் [து]டவலும் அயிரமற்றத்து அக்கிரமந்³ தெவன-
- 4 ல் ஒற்றிகொண்டு யந. பிராமணர் அமுர்து செய்-
- 5 த்தின்னு கல்ப்பிச்சு ஒற்றியோலை இரண்டிலும்⁴ அ-
- 6 ச்சு நாலெகால் நிலம் முக்குறுணி அயிரமன்றத்-
- 7 து கெசவங் கு[ன்]றறைமெல் உரி அரி செலவின்ன அயிர-
- 8 மன்றத்து பத்தனாபன் திருவிக்கிரமன் வெண்டும் அ-
- 9 ச்சு அஞ்சு [||*] செறுகுண்டு குளகிழைக் கவி ஒபாதிக்கு
- 10 பூவழி
- 11 நெல் நால்க்குறுணி பாகொட்டு கொடவறைமண் புரைய்-
- 12 யடமு மகின்மெலு மகின்மீழ் கண்டத்தின் மெலு[ம்*] வி-
- 13 ரிச்சிக விளக்கின்னு எண்ணை மகிட அறுநாழி அ-

1 Registered as No. 64 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

2 Registered as No. 261 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

3 Perhaps we have to read விக்கிரமந்.

4 Read இரண்டாலும்.

- 14 ி நரழி வெற்றிலை அடைக்காய் நூறும் மருதறைவ்வ-
 15 ளாகத்தின் மெல் எண்ணை மு[ந்நாழி] அரி நா[ழி] உரி
 16 குழூர் கொண்ணிரத்தறை உழுதி மெல் வடக்கின் தெவர-
 17 க்கு விரி[ச்*]சிக விளக்கின்னு நல்லெண்ணை மடை பந்திருநா-
 18 ழி திரு அத்தாழ திருவமீர்தின்னு நெல் [க]லம்
 19 மருதன் கொட்டு காலறை உழுதிமெல் பூவழி தெவர்க்கு நெல்
 20 [நா]ழி புதுமனைப் பரையாடத்தின் மெல் திங்கள வாரம் அ-
 21 ம்பலத்தில் அந்திவிளக்கின்னும் நெய் நாழி உரி கடந்தான்கொ-
 22 ட்டின்மெல் விள[நூலில் நிற] வித்து கடமையால் நெல் கலம்
 23 பாறலுரவரள் தெக்கி[டத்து] கழு[ந்]கரைக்[கொ]ட்டின் மெலு-
 24 ந் தெக்கின் தெவர்க்கு நந்தாவிளக்கிமர² நெய் [நா]ழி³
 25 செருப்பா தியறை மெல் பத்தனாபன் குட்டன்
 26 வெண்டு[ம*] அச்சு
 27 உாஉரு

Translation.

On the day of the new-moon in the month of Karkāṭaka, Vikkīraman-Devan of Āyīraṁṇam, having obtained on mortgage the fields Paḷaiyarikkāṇḍam and Ūmantuḍaval belonging to Dēvaṇ-Dēvaṇ of Nāgamaṅgalam, ordered the feeding of 12 brahmans and assigned $4\frac{1}{4}$ *achchu* and 3 *kurūni* of land (incorrect for paddy) due on (his) two mortgage deeds. Padmanābhaṇ-Tiruvikkīraman of Āyīraṁṇam received five *achchu* from (the yield of) Kuṇṇarāimuri of Kēśavan of Āyīraṁṇam for (providing one) *uri* of rice.

Four *kurūni* of paddy at each harvest from the land under the tank of Śeru-kuṇḍūr, the yield from the *puraiyiḍam* of Koḍavaṇaiman in Pākōḍu as well as from the lands to the west and east of the same are for (the expenses of) six *nāḷi* of oil (as measured) by the *maḍai* for Vriśchika lamps, (one) *nāḷi* of rice, betel leaves, areca-nuts and chunam:

three *nāḷi* of oil and (one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of rice from (the field called) Marudagai-viḷāgam: 12 *nāḷi* of gingelly oil (as measured) by the *maḍai* from the field of Koṇṇirattarai in Sūlūr are for Vriśchika lamps in the northern shrine;

one *kalam* of paddy (from the same) is for the sacred night meal:

(one) *nāḷi* of paddy at each harvest from the field of Kāḷarai in Marudaṅkōḍu (is) for the (same) god;

(one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of ghee from the Pudumaṇṇaippuraiyiḍam is for the twilight lamp to be lit on each Monday in the temple;

and (one) *kalam* of paddy given as assessment in kind from
 . . . of Kaḍandāṅkōḍu (is also for the same item).

Pattanābhaṇ-Kuṭṭan of Śeruppādiyaṇai received 225 *achchu* from (the income of) Kamugaraikkōḍu on the southern side, in order to supply (one) *nāḷi* of ghee for burning (one) perpetual lamp in the southern shrine as ordered by the people of Pāralūr.

1 வ looks like த.

2 There is some mistake committed in engraving what looks like மெர.

3 This may also be read as நெ but நாழி is the correct reading.

No. 49—Three Chera Coins.

In the Report of the Travancore Archæological Department for 1920-21, Mr. K. V. Subramanya Ayyar, the Superintendent, has the following note on three copper coins unearthed recently in a village in the Travancore State.—

“Mr. Abraham, Vakil, and Mr. Vurghese, Teacher, brought to me three old copper coins for examination. The coins belong to a heap found deposited in a mud-pot kept underground at Parur near Alangad. The pot was unearthed, I am told, by a farmer, while digging a field. The coins appear to be very old. They bear no legends. While two of them are almost semi-circular, the third is slightly square in shape. The obverse has a standing figure of a tusker facing the right; and a staff tipped with a trident is placed in front of it. The reverse of all the coins bears a lamp-stand or a goad and arrow strung to a bow, the top string of the latter being very visible.”

These coins were taken up by me for closer study and my observations on them are noted below so as to help further examination, if other specimens of the same type should become available on some future occasion.

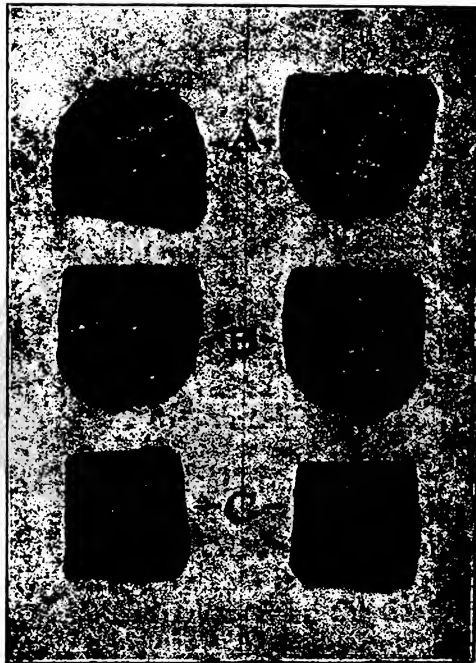
All the three specimens are double-die coins but owing perhaps to the carelessness of the man employed with the punches, the coins do not unfortunately bear the full impress of the dies. The square coin is slightly thicker than the two semi-circular ones. One of the semi-circular type (shown as A) and the square coin (shown as C) have on their obverse a well-executed figure of a standing elephant facing the right and represented in its natural purity of outline, unhampered by any ornamental trappings. In front of it, is placed a flag-staff from the top of which a standard (*dhvaja*) is hanging down with a curling fold at its extremity. In the plain field above the elephant device, the following symbols are figured from left to right:—

- (1) a symbol which consisting of a central dot surrounded by a circle of eight depressions contiguously arranged, may, as in other instances, be taken to represent an expanded lotus;
- (2) a *Svastika* symbol;
- (3) a device similar to that figured on a coin of Janapadāsa (No. II of Plate IV of *Rapson's Coins*), the significance of which has not been explained by that author, but which may be taken to stand for a *vajra*, a *linga* on its pedestal, or better still, a small lighted lamp;
- (4) the Crescent, and
- (5) the Sun.

On the reverse are found:—

- (1) an *aṅkuśa* or elephant goad in the form of a spear of short haft and hooked end;
- (2) a bow of the five-bends type with a metal-tipped arrow strung into position on the bow-string, which is represented as fluttering forward in two spiral strands from the top notch of the bow;
- (3) a *bhadraghata* or a *pūrṇakumbha* and
- (4) an obliterated figure which has a resemblance to the Buddhist *triratna* symbol.

THREE CHERA COINS.



Same size.

A. S. Ranganatha Ayyar.

The other coin shown as B on the plate has only the elephant and the flag on its obverse and the absence of the other five symbols, which may either have become defaced or been omitted, would perhaps suggest that this specimen belonged to an earlier type than its companion A.

Presumably owing to its association with royalty and to its forming an important component of the four-fold army of ancient India, the elephant was adopted by more than one dynasty of kings as its numismatic device and we therefore find this royal quadruped represented on the early punch coins,¹ on the coins of the Āndhra,² the Yādava,³ and the Koṅgu⁴ dynasties, on the coins and copper-plate seals of the Gaṅgas,⁵ and Vijayanagara kings⁶, on the Mysore issues—both Indian⁶ and Muhammadan,⁷ and on the coins of the Western Punjab and the Kabul valley⁸. The Chēras in particular, had a special partiality for this lord of their own forests, at once the source of their strength and wealth, and this is evidenced by the adoption by some of the kings of this dynasty of certain distinguishing epithets connected with this quadruped. The bow and arrow was also their special device and they were called in consequence the *villavar*. The presence therefore of the elephant on the obverse and the bow and arrow on the reverse distinctly suggests that the coins under review must be of Chēra origin and, according to Rapson,⁹ of a period anterior to 1090 A. D; but in the absence of any elucidatory legends on the coins themselves, their age cannot be fixed with any tolerable accuracy, unless helped by further data from future finds. The general appearance and style of the coins would, however, suggest their being dated one or two centuries earlier than the later limit noted above, and may have been the forerunners of the coins mentioned in para 5 below.

The symbols figured on the coins deserve some notice. The elephant (an emblem of royalty), the lotus¹⁰ (the Indian traditional symbol of mysterious birth) and the *svastika*¹¹ (the philosophical symbol of evolution) are among the eight objects of auspiciousness¹². The crescent and the sun are generally figured on the tops of copper-plate and lithic inscriptions as emblems of permanence and are cited as eternal witnesses of mundane affairs in the expressions '*āchandrārkaṁ*' and '*chandrādityar-uḷḷavarai*'. Their introduction on Chēra coins has perhaps the

1 Nos. 4 and 6 on Plate I of Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*.

2 No. 43 on Plate II, *Ibid*.

3 No. 92 on Plate III; *Ibid*.

4 Nos. 118 and 119, *Ibid*.

5 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX. p. 304.

6 No. 117 on Plate III, of *E. C. S. I.*

7 Henderson's *Coins of Haidar and Tipu*.

8 Nos. 1 and 2 on Plate III, of Rapson's *Coins of Southern India*.

9 Rapson, p. 36.

10 *A Guide to Sanchi*, page 41.

11 Havell's *Architecture of India*, page 17.

12 There are different lists, but the following verse is from the *Jīvakacintāmaṇi*:

பாந்தொனியுமிடும் பைம்பொற் கண்ணடி பதாகை தோட்டி

விரிந்திருண்மேயுஞ் செம்பொன் விளக்கு வெண்முரசு கும்பஞ்

சாந்தவெண்மதியைஞ்ஞாற் கழிர்கொண்டு தொகுத்தபோதும்

பொருந்து பொற்கழிப்பெய்கத்தை புணர்கயல் போந்தவன்றே—*Andaruvattaiyār*, v. 137.

additional significance, if such was intended, of suggesting the Chēra's descent from the Chandrādityakula,¹ the luni-solar race. The *aṅkuśa*² (Tamil-*iṭṭi*) 'a sign of authority and of selective discrimination' occurs in company with the other items of royal paraphernalia such as a pair of chowries and a state-umbrella in the seals of many copper-plate grants. The *pūrṇakumbha* or the *amṛitakalāśa*, a vessel of consecrated water with a bunch of green mango leaves inserted into its mouth, is one of the auspicious signs of plenty and prosperity and is generally found flanked by a pair of lighted lamps. It occurs in this combination in the seal of the Koḍlūr plate³ of the Gaṅga king Mārasimha.

We know that a coin called the '*āṇai-achchu*' which, as its name implies, was a die-struck coin stamped with an elephant's figure,⁴ was current both in the Koṅgu-maṇḍalam⁵ and in the West Coast in the 12th and 13th centuries; but there is reason to believe that it must have been of a far higher denomination than the small copper coins under reference and that it must have been also of more precious metal than copper. It is also understood that it superseded another coin called the '*śiriyakki-achchu*' of an older system of currency, which had the figure of a *yakshī* embossed on it and whose design was perhaps influenced by Ceylon issues. *Unḍi-achchu* and *amudaṇ-achchu* were two other coins current at that time; but their relative values are not ascertainable, except that the later was a golden coin and that 53 of the former was the annual interest on 707 *āṇai-achchu*, but as the rate of interest per cent has not been mentioned, it is not possible to ascertain their relative values.

No. 50.—Copper-plate record of Kollam 925.

The subjoined copper-plate record is kept in the Palace Chellamvagai at Trivandrum and purports to be the deed relating to the sale of some lands in Puliyanturuttu by Kumaraṇ-Śrīkaṇṭhan Tirumūlpāḍ of Maṇṇāḍu to Davidaikkal Paradēsi. In another copy of the same document written on cadjan in the Malayāḷam characters and found among the *ōlai* bundles in the same place, the purchaser is stated to have been a resident of Cochin (*kocheṭṭiyil-kuḍi-irikkum*). In either case, it is not known why the document should have found its way into the Palace records, and to what nationality the purchaser belonged. Dāvīda may be phonetically equivalent perhaps to David.

The language and script of the record are Malayalam; and it is noticeable that the verbs have not discarded their personal suffixes as in modern Malayalam; cf. *konḍāṇ* in l. 8.

1 *Madras Epig. Report* for 1910, page 59.

2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, page 294.

3 Plate X of the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1921.

4 Cf. the *āṇai-paisa* of Mysore-Elliot's *Coins*, page 105.

5 *Madras Epigraphical Reports* for 1912 and 1916 and *Trav. Arch. Series*, Part I, Vol. III.

Text.

First side.

- 1 കൊല്ലം ന്വയം 2-ത ചിങ്ങത്തായറ്റിൽ എഴുതിയ അട്ടിപ്പെറോലക്കര-
ണമാവിത [പ*] 2 [പ*] അടുത്ത കമരത്ത് ചിരികളെ- തിരുമുൽപ്പാട്ടിൽ
കെ-
- 2 റവിൽ കാരിയത്തിലെക്കുള്ള പലിയത്തുരുത്തിൽ എലഞ്ഞിക്ക താഴത്തെ-
ത്തൊട്ടിന്നും തുരുതുരപള്ളിക്കും പടി-

Second side.

- 3 ണ്താട്ട വടക്കെപ്പുഴക്കു തെക്കൊട്ടു പടിഞ്ഞാറുവഴക്കു കിഴക്കൊട്ടു ചാ-
ത്തൊടത്തെ തൊട്ടിന്നു വ-
- 4 കക്കൊട്ടു ഇന്നാലതിക്കകത്തകപ്പെട്ട അട്ടിപ്പെറാത്തവും വാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ടു
അട്ടിപ്പെറാതുക എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്തിത കെ-
- 5 റവിക്കാരിയത്തിന്നു അമ്മാക്കമെ കൊവിൽ കാരിയത്തിലെക്കുള്ള പലിയത്തു
രുത്തിൽ എലഞ്ഞിക്ക താഴ-
- 6 തെത്തൊട്ടിന്നും തുരുത്തിരപള്ളിക്കും പടിഞ്ഞാട്ടു വടക്കെപ്പുഴക്കു തെ-
ക്കൊട്ടു പടിഞ്ഞാറുവഴക്കു
- 7 കിഴക്കൊട്ടു ചാത്തൊടത്തെ തൊട്ടിന്നു വടക്കൊട്ടു ഇന്നാലതിക്കകത്തകപ്പെട്ട
അട്ടിപ്പെറാത്തവും
- 8 കൊടുത്ത അട്ടിപ്പെറാതുക എഴുതിച്ചു കൊണ്ടാണു ഓവിതതുകെല്ലരതെചി
ഇമ്മാക്കമെ ഇന്നാ-
- 9 ലതിക്കകത്തകപ്പെട്ട കൽ കരട കാഞ്ഞിരക്കുറിയും മുരും മുരട മുരക്കുപ്പരമ്പാ
നെല്ലു നീര നിധി മാംപെടും ക-
- 10 റടും മീനമ്പടും തുരയ്യം തെൻപെടും ചൊലയ്യം ആരൊപാകം വഴിയും
നീർപൊകം കാലും ആറും
- 11 വയ്പ്പും അരിയും പരമ്പും അറ താ കിണറാകാച പാത്താളവും ഇന്നാല
തിക്കകപ്പെട്ട തെപ്പെപ്പെട്ട-

First side (contd).

- 12 തും കൂടി അട്ടിപ്പെറാത്തവും വാങ്ങിക്കൊണ്ടു അട്ടിപ്പെറാതുക എഴുതിക്കൊ-
ടുത്തിത കൊവിൽക്കാരിയത്തി-
- 13 ന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കമെ ഇന്നാലതിക്കകത്തകപ്പെട്ട കൽ കരട കാഞ്ഞിരക്കുറിയും

മുറ മുര മുരപ്പരമ്പം നെല്ല നീര നി-

- 14 ധി മാൻപെടും കാടും മീൻപെടും തുറയും തെൻപെടും ചൊലയും ആറും
പൊകും വഴിയും നീർപൊകും കാലും
- 15 അതിരും വരമ്പും ആറുവയ്പും അറ തറ കിണറാകാമ പാതാളവും
ഇന്നാലതിക്കത്തകപ്പെട്ട തെപ്പെപ്പെട്ടതും
- 16 കൂടി അട്ടിപ്പെറാകെ എഴുതിച്ച കൊണ്ടാൻ ഭാവിതഇക്കൽ[പരദേശി*] [11*]
ഇപ്പരിചെ എഴുതിക്കൊ-
- 17 ഞമെയിക്കും ഇത കാവുകെൽ പറമ്പത്ത ഉണ്ണി ചിരകണ്ടൻ കയ്യെടു-
ത്ത [11*]

Translation.

This is the title-deed given with libation of water in the Simha month of the Kollam year 925.

For the lands in Puliyanuruttu within the four boundaries:— to the west of the garden below the *Elaññi* and *Turutturapalli*, to the south of the northern channel, to the east of the western channel and to the north of the garden of *Śattōdu*—which were under the management of *Kumaraṇ-Śirikaṇḍan Tirumūlpād* of *Māññādu*, the purchase money was received and the lands were given as *aṭṭippēru* (with libation of water).

Thus for these lands in Puliyanuruttu within the four boundaries— to the west of the garden behind *Elaññi* and *Turutturapalli*, to the south of the northern channel, to the east of the western channel and to the north of the garden in *Śattōdu*—the purchase money was paid by and the title-deed was drawn up for *Dāvida-ikkel-paradēsi*. In this manner, the stones, crags, stumps of nux-vomica trees, thistles, waste lands, paddy, water (-sources), treasure-trove, woodlands haunted by deer, water patches infested with fish, gardens abundant with honey, footpaths, channel-beds, river deposits, boundary limits and ridges, buildings, field sites, wells, and all that exist above and below the ground surface: for all these items within the four boundaries, the purchase money was received and the freehold title-deed was drawn up and given.

In this manner for the stones, crags, stumps of nux-vomica trees, thistles, waste lands, paddy, water (-sources), treasure-trove, woodlands haunted by deer, water patches infested with fish, gardens abundant with honey, footpaths, channel-beds, boundary limits and field-ridges, river deposits, buildings, wells and all that exist above and below the ground surface within these four boundaries, the title-deed was drawn up and obtained by *Dāvida-ikkel-paradēsi*.

This is the signature of *Uññi-Śrīkaṇḍan* of *Kāvuṅgal-parambu* (as witness) for writing this deed in this manner.

No. 51—Ilamba record of Vira Marttanda Ravivarman: Kollam 781.

The subjoined record which is engraved on the west base of the *mandapa* in front of the Śiva temple at Ilamba is in the Malayalam script and language. It is dated in the Kollam year 781 in the reign of the king Vira Mārttāṇḍa Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi, and relates to the construction of certain additional buildings to the new temple at Ilamba.

Text.

- 1 ഇളവൈ പുതയകോയിക്കൽ ശ്രീവീരമാർത്താണ്
- 2 ഇരവിവർ തിരുവടിക്കുമെന്ത കൊയിക്ക-
- 3 മിക്കൾ ചെയ്യിച്ച തിരുപ്പണി നെയ്യം മാണ്ട
- 4 ഇടവമാസത്തിൽ തുടങ്ങി തളവും ചുവരും മ-
- 5 ഞപവും പണിചെയ്യിച്ച [യ]യന്മാർ മാണ്ട കലശ്ശ[11*].

Translation.

The works which were added to the new temple at Ilamba by the officers of the king Śrī Vīramārttāṇḍa Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi in charge of the temple, namely, the paving, walls and the *mandapa* which were commenced in the Rishabha month of the (Kollam) year 781, were completed and the consecration ceremony was in the year [78]3.

No. 52—Other pillar labels in the same temple.

The four inscriptions noted below are engraved on the pillars in the *nāl-ambalam* of the Śiva temple in the same village of Ilamba; and though they are not important mentioning, as they do, the names of the donors of the particular pillars, they have been published here with a view to bring together all readable records, both ancient and modern. The alphabet of the inscriptions is Malayalam in the first three instances and Tamil in the case of the fourth.

A.

- 1 വരിക്കരവ-
- 2 ലി ഇരമവ്
- 3 പിള്ള ചെയി
- 4 ദിപ്പി തുണ

B.

- 1 നാണി
- 2 ചെലവര
- 3 യപ്പി-
- 4 ജ്ജ മെ-
- 5 യിപ്പി തുണ

1 Registered as No. 123 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

A. B. C. D.—Registered as Nos. 124 to 127 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

| C. | D. |
|--------------|---------------|
| 1 നവരക- | 1 அது உரு |
| 2 തു ചരി- | 2 முக்காணி |
| 3 കുമാരൻ കെ- | 3 கலதின |
| 4 ചവൻ ചെ- | 4 நல்ல |
| 5 യിച്ചു തുണ | 5 ப் பெருமாள் |
| | 6 எ ஆண்டி |

No. 53—Suchindrum Plate of Kollam 621.

The subjoined inscription is engraved in Tamil characters on both sides of a single sheet of copper-plate, measuring $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$, which had owing to its thinness got broken at a third of its length and has now been joined together by small rivets. The original is understood to be in the possession of a private individual at Suchindram employed as a temple official; but the record is edited here from an ink-impression of it preserved in this office.

It is dated in both the Śaka and Kollam eras and as the Kollam year is clearly indicated as 621 which corresponded to the cyclic year Raktāksha (given incorrectly in the record as *Rartīcha*), the Śaka equivalent ought to have been 1367, which is wrongly entered as 137. The engraving is slovenly and the alphabet appears to be somewhat later than the first half of the 15th century A. D. The astronomical details give the English date A. D. 1444, October 3; but the week-day was Saturday and not Monday as noted in the record.

Among the orthographic peculiarities may be mentioned the incorrect use of *r* in places requiring only its softer equivalent, the transformation of Sanskrit words into vulgar Tamil forms such as *āṭchandira* for *āchandra*, *Rartīcha* for *Raktāksha*, *detṭhaṇāyina* for *dakṣiṇāyana* etc. In the last two lines at the end of the plate the '*eḷuttu*' has been written in a degenerated Vaṭṭeḷuttu script, which was apparently the futile attempt of the engraver who was not conversant with that alphabet. The repetition of that word seven times probably shows that there were seven *sthānattārs* to the temple, whose individual signatures the several *eḷuttu* were intended to represent.

The object of the record was to register the fact that certain *yōgippara-dāsīs* or religious mendicants were appointed to the office of *āṇavāl* of the temple at Suchindram. '*Āṇavāl*' (or *āṇaivāl*, *āṇaivāl* as noted in this record) is the name now given to brahman managers of temples. The personal attendants of the Rajas

1. This word occurs in a record of Bhūtappāṇḍi in the sense of a subordinate official. It has probably to be derived from *ānai* (skt. *ajña*). *Āṇiyam* and *āṇatti* (skt. *ājñapti*) occur in Huzur Office plates of Karunandaḍakkam. *Āṇaivāl* is divisible into *ānai* + *vāl* and may be analogous to the suffix in *naḍuvāl* and *vāḷḷekai-vāl* of records. *Āṇavālu* occurs in Telugu records, where it means 'evidence or credentials'.

who are generally of the brahman caste are also called *āṇavāl*—*agattu-āṇavāl* and *puṇattu-āṇavāl* according to the place of their service, in the king's antechamber or outside. In the present record, the *yōgipparadēśis* who were apparently Śūdras appear to have been entrusted with specific duties such as the conduct of certain temple festivals from some revenue collected on the temple lands. The introduction of some slightly supernatural element in the document, namely that the orders emanated from the god Suchīndramudaiya-Nayinār and Ten-Tiruvēṅgaḍa-Emberumāṇ:—

‘சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் கிருமூங்கிலடியில் அனுக்கிரகமானகாலத்து’
and ‘பதிப்பிச்சுக் குடுக்கும்படிக்கு தென்திருவேங்கடவிண்ணவர் எம்பெருமான் அனுக்கிரகமானபடிக்கு’—

as well as the more modern appearance of the letters tempt one to question the correctness of the alleged age of the plate. No king's name is mentioned in the record. This record is not found copied on the rock in the temple.

Text.¹

First side.

- 1 சகாத்தம் [௨௩-௩] [௬௦*] என் மெல்ச செல்லாரின்ற தனுவியாழம் மிதி
னச்சனி கொல்லம் சுய[௨]மே ஹும் [றற்] தீட்ச ஹு தெட்ச-
- 2 னாயினமான அல்பசி [௨௩] [௨௩] சொமவாரமும் புணர்யூசநட்செத்திறமும்
திதி பூறுவபட்ச்சத்து சத்தமியும் சித்திரித்திய நாமயொகமும் ஆ-
- 3 னைகரணமு[௨*] பெற்ற னுள் னறு பகல் மெ நாளிகையில் தனராசி நெர
த்தில் நயினார் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் ஆட்செந்திரகால-
- 4 மும் ஆள்கொண்டயொகிப்பரதெசிகள் பெர் உமே-ம் ஆனைவாளாகக்
கண்டுகொள்ளுமபடிக்கு நயினார் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் திரு-
- 5 மூங்கிலடியில் அனுக்கிரகமான காலத்திலுக்கந்த அடிமைகள் யொகிப்பர
தெசிகளென்று செம்பிலுஞ் சிலையிலுந் திருவறையிலும்
- 6 காணும்படிக்கு ஆட்செந்திரகாலமும் கையக்கொண்டு நயினார் சுசீந்திரமு
டைய நயினார் கொவிலுக்கு நயினார் தெசமாயிட்டி
- 7 உள்ளதுக் கெல்லாந் கெழுவியு மாச்சினையுமாக கூ-ம் பணமும் பிரி
ப்பிச்சு நயினாருடைய அடியெந்தரமெல்லாம் நடத்தும்-

Second side.

- 8 படிக்கு இருவாரமும் அடங்கின காராமை நிலம் உமே என்படிக்கு உ-
கொட்டை இருபத்துமூணும் ஆட்டவிசெஷமாக விசெ-
- 9 ஷத்தில்த் தானத்துக்கு அரிக்க படித்தரமும் மென்மெலும் அடியெந்தி-
ரம் பொலெ காராமை அதிகமும் பதிப்பிச்சுக் குடுக்கும்படிக்கு
- 10 தென்திருவேங்கடவிண்ணவர் எம்பெருமான் அனுக்கிரகமானபடிக்கு நயி
னார் சுசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் கொவிலுக்கு
- 11 யொகிப்பரதெசிகள் பெர் உமே-ம் ஆச்செந்தரகாலமும் ஆனைவாழாக
நடக்குமபடிக்கு செம்பிலுஞ் சிலையிலும் வெட்டி-

1 Registered as No. 13 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 The week-day is found to be Saturday and not Monday in the *Ephemeris*.

- 12 ப்மிச்சக் குடுத்தொம் நமிஞர் கசீந்திரமுடைய நமிஞர் கொவிலுக் குகந்த
தானத்தார்கள் ஐயிதூ
- 13 எழுத்து எழுத்து எழுத்து ஐயிதூ எழுத்து எழுத்து
- 14 செ கணக்கு தானுமாலையப்பெருமாள் திருவெங்கடம் எழுத்து [11*]

Translation.

On the 5th day of the month of Alpasi of Raktāsha (Raktīcha) corresponding to the Kollam year 621 which was current after Śaka 13[6*]7 had expired and in which year Jupiter was in Dhanus and Saturn in Mithuna—on this day, which was a Monday with the saptami-tithi of the first fortnight, nakshatra Punarpūṣam, siddhinityanāma-yōgam and ānaikkaraṇam, at 14-nāḷigai midnoon at the time of Dhanu-rāsi:—

the god Suchīndramuḍaiya-Nayinār having been pleased, at the foot of the sacred bamboo (*tirumūṅgil*), to order the appointment of the twenty-three *Āṭkonḍa-yōgipparadēṣigal* as *āṇaiṇāḷ* (of the temple) so long as the moon endures, it was accepted to last as long as the moon and this fact was made public (by being engraved) on copper, stone, and on the sacred rock.

Having collected 1000 *paṇam* by *kēlvi* and *āchchiṇai* on all lands belonging to the temple of Suchīndramuḍaiya-Nayinār, and Teṇ-tiruvēṅgaḍa-viṇṇavar Emberumāṇ also having been pleased to order that the *kārāṇmai* on certain lands which was 23 *kōṭṭai* of 21 (*marakkāl*) was to be utilised for the festivals, the *kārāṇmai* being increased proportionately to the expenditure of the festivals, we, the selected *tāṇattār* of the temple of Nayinār Suchīndramuḍaiya-Nayinār had the fact engraved on copper and stone, that the 23 *yōgipparadēṣis* were appointed as the *āṇaiṇāḷ* of the temple as long as the moon.

These are our signatures. This is the writing of the accountant Tāṇu-mālaiyaperumāḷ Tiruvēṅgaḍam.

No. 54—Inscription of Parthivapuram.

The subjoined inscription in Vaṭṭeluttu is engraved on the base of the *surru-mandapa* (outside) at the proper left of the entrance into the Viṣṇu temple at Pārthivapuram. It is incomplete and seems to register gift of land for maintaining Vriśchika lamps in the temple, ordered to be put up by Kāman-Taḍakkaṇ, a native of Kuṇṇattūr. The temple at Pārthivaśekharaapuram was, as we know, constructed by Karunandadakkaṇ, an Āy chief ruling over the eastern hilly region of the Travancore State. It is noteworthy that the donor in the present record is named Taḍakkaṇ and not as Aḍakkaṇ. It cannot be stated whether this individual who made a gift of lands to the temple at Pārthivaśekharaapuram, was himself in any way connected with the Āy family.

1 The words *eluttu* which are repeated five times in this line are in the Vaṭṭeluttu script.

2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 7.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [1*] இடபத்தில் வியாழ நின்ற யாண்டு குன்றத்தூர் காமந் த
டக்கன் பார்த்திவசெகரபுரத்து தெவர்க்கு
- 2 அட்டிய மிருச்சிய² விளக்குக்கு எருக்கி[லை] மண்ணென்ற தொட்டமும்
புலவறை தடிமிரண்டும் உதிக்கால்மணக்கொட்டும் குலக்குடிப்பழ³

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year in which Jupiter stood in Rishabha, Kāmaṇ-
Tadakkam of Kunrattūr (ordered to be) put up (in the temple) of Pārthivaśekhara-
purattu-dēva, *vriśchika* lamps; and for (them) the garden called Erukkilaiman
together with two *taḍi* of Puṇḍavarai as well as Udikkālmankōḍu

Tirukkadittanam Records.

Tirukkadittanam which is one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* sacred to Viṣṇu in Malai-maṇḍalam, is a village two miles to the east of Chenganacheri, a taluk-station of the Travancore State. The god of the temple has been glorified in a hymn of Nammālvār, who has also commemorated the adjacent Viṣṇu temples of Tiruvalla, Tiruvaṇvāṇḍūr, etc. The *Māṇalāṅkāram*⁴ of Tirukkurukaippirāṇ and the *Nūṟṟeṭṭu-tiruppati-antādi*⁵ of Pillaipperumāḷi-Ayyangār have also one verse each in praise of this place. The temple which dates itself epigraphically from the time of the Chēra king Bhāskari-Ravivarman *i. e.* from the closing years of the 10th century, must have existed, though not necessarily in its present form, much earlier from the beginning of the 9th century at least, as it was visited by Nammālvār. The village has been described in the *Tiruvāymoḷi* as surrounded by brahman habitations resounding with the hum of the Vedic chants, but there are no other details in that decade of verses which are of historical value. It is worth noting that, while all these authorities call the village by the name of

1 Registered as No. 78 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1087 M. E.

2 Read விருச்சிக.

3 The inscription is incomplete.

4 மண்டாரழற்கான் மழைதழைக வான் டொருள்வாழ்
வண்டாக நீ குறித்ததொப்பென்று—லண்டர்
மருந்தே பெறப் புரந்தமால் கடித்தானத்தூ
னிருந்தே திறந்தேதிறகு.

—*Māṇalāṅkāram*, v. 528.

5 காணவிரும்புமென்கண்—கையுந்தொழுவிரும்பும்
பூணவிரும்புமென்றன் புன்றல்தான்.—வாணன்
நிருக்கடித்தானத்தான்நிசிரியான்மண்டான்
நிருக்கடித்தானத்தானச் சென்று.

—*Nūṟṟeṭṭu-Tiruppati-antādi*, v. 72.

Tirukkāḍittānam, the *Kēraḷōlppatti* and the *Unṇunīḷisandēsam*¹ give it the denomination of Trikkōḍittānam.

Several records of the temple belong to the reign of Bhāskara-Ravivarman, the last of the line of Chēra kings who wielded suzerain authority over the petty chieftancies of Malai-maṇḍalam and four of them have been published in Volume II of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*². But three of these have had to be re-edited now, as they have not been given in full in that volume and only their first lines have been published.

No. 55—Tirukkāḍittānam record of Ravi-Rama.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the walls of the central shrine at Tirukkāḍittānam and is dated in the year opposite the second year of king Ravi-Rāmaṇ. It is in the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet of about the time of the Chēra king Bhāskari-Ravivarman and is in the Tamil language which is but sparingly adulterated by an admixture of the usual Malayalam forms of words, the few instances occurring in it being—*vāḷiṇṇa*, *vāḷunna*, *irunna*, *amaichcha*, *ammiñña*, *oḷiñña*, *pāḍutāñṇuvidu*, *kalañṇu*, *nikkinnum*, *eḷudichchidu*, *viṭṭichchu*, which are used for the correcter Tamil words *vāḷukiṇṇa*, *vāḷinda*, *irunda*, *amaitta*, *amainda*, *oḷinda*, *pāḍutāṇṇuvadu*, *kalañju*, *nikkium*, *eḷudivittadu* and *viḍuvittu*. It may be noticed that almost all of them are instances of surds changed into nasal equivalents, which was a common device used in the evolution of the Malayalam dialect. Grantha letters have been used only in a few cases: *svasti sri* at the beginning and the end of the inscription, *bhai* in *sabhai*, *śa* in *dēśakālam* in (l. 2) and *śabda* in *pañchamāśabdam* (l. 2).

Nīrāṭṭupalli is the god's bath, *palli* being (according to Gundert) an honorific suffix to *nīrāṭṭu*=bath, when referring to the sacred bath of the god or of the king. *Nīrāṭṭupalli* might also mean the *abhishēka-maṇḍapa* (*palli* signifying a room), but the use of the word in the present record and in other inscriptions makes the former meaning more appropriate. Provision was made in this temple for the sounding of the *pañchamahāśabda* at the time of the god's bath, akin to a similar provision made in the Tiruvalla plates,¹ where the five musical instruments, *jeṇḍai*, *iṇṇilai*, *śēgaṇḍi*, *kaiṭṭālam* and *kālam* have been mentioned. The Huzur office plates of Karunandaḍakkāṇ however give another list of five instruments: *tattāḷi*, *maddaḷi*, *karaiṇṇai*, *tālam* and *kākaḷam*.

Kottādu-pullippaḍil is an expression which may be taken to mean here 'if the sounding is rendered nought', *pulli* being a cipher in arithmetic. Or it may also suggest that a mark was entered in the temple register against the names of the defaulters (*pulli*=a mark, an entry) for the purpose of levying appropriate

1 മുക്കാലം ചെൻറിയവർക്കു തിരുക്കോട്ടത്താമസിൽ
നരക്കാർവണ്ണൻ ചരണമുഗളം കൂപ്പിനേരേടെന്നാൽ

— *Unṇunīḷisandēsam*, x. 126.

2 T. A. S., Vol. II pp. 33, 36, 40 and 41.

finer from them; and *pullippattavar* and *pullippatta-nel* (l. 2) will then mean, 'those against whom entries (of absence) had been made' and 'the paddy payable according to the default-entries'.

Pattāyam is a corn-chest. Gundert gives the meaning 'a large chest to keep rice', while Winslow also explains it similarly; but both seem however to suggest that the wording is of Portuguese origin. The use of the word in the present early record shows that it is an indigenous word. *Pattāyappura* and *pattāyakkeṭṭu* also mean the place where the corn-bins are kept standing. In the present record, a wooden granary which was the property of the temple and which had been kept at the disposal of the drummers for storing their grain was ordered to be got back from them in case they proved to be defaulters.

The title of *Nāyar*, the honorific plural of the word *Nāyan* (Skt. *nāyaka*) has been used here to denote the ruler of the district—*nāḍuvāḷṇa-nāyar* (l. 3).

The object of the inscription is to record the arrangements made for the sounding of the five great sounds (*pañcamāśabdam*) in the temple of Bhaṭāra at Tirukkadittānam, for which service certain lands were given by Sēnnaṭ-Tāyan of Teñchēri, who was the examiner or auditor of the temple accounts. The conditions and regulations relating to the proper conduct of the service were fixed by the *ūr*, *pariḍai* and *sabhai* of the village which met in the temple under the presidency of Iyakkaṇ-Srīkanthaṇ of Maṇalmaṇṇam, who was the governor of Naṇṇulai-nāḍu at the time. The penalty for the non-observance of the rules was fixed at varying grades of fines diminishing in geometrical progression:

100 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold to the king (*perumāṇḍigal*)

50 *kaḷaṇṇu* to the governor of the district (*nāḍuvāḷṇumavaṇ*) and

25 *kaḷaṇṇu* to the officer in immediate charge of the village (*vāḷkkai-vāḷumavaṇ* namely, the *dēśavāḷi*)

That the temple must have had worship conducted in it for more than three times daily is evident from the fact that the absence of the *śrībali*-servants for three times during a day was visited with a fine of a quantity of paddy, whereas similar failure for the whole day was liable to a separate and perhaps a greater penalty. As in the Tiruvalla plates, the fines levied from the delinquent drummers were ordered to be paid to the *kīḷṣānti* in this case also.

It is a point worthy of note that the temple servants (*paṇimakkaḷ*) were authorised to set right any difficulties arising in the conduct of the service and if it was beyond settlement among themselves, the *ārāḷar* were to be called in for a decision. If, however, in the opinion of the servants any member of the *ārāḷar* was considered to be swayed by any prejudice or ill-feeling, the difficulties were to be solved in the immediate presence of the ruler of the district and the representatives of the *muṇṇūrruvar*-assembly (of Naṇṇulai-nāḍu).

The lands intended for this service were also restricted from being either mortgaged or disposed of by sale.

The king Ravi-Rāmaṇ in whose third year (the year opposite the second year of reign), the record is dated is not identifiable; but on palaeographical

grounds, the record can be attributed to the 11th century and may be considered posterior to the time of Bhāskara-Ravivarman. As the date of accession and the length of reign of the latter have not been *definitely* ascertained, it cannot be said whether Ravi-Rāmaṇ was his actual successor, though it is not improbable. Between Bhāskara-Ravi (A. D. 978-1036) and Kulaśekhara of the Quilon record (A. D. 1102) there is a gap of half a century.

In the Tripūṇittura temple in the Cochin State is found a lithic record dated in the 30th year of reign of king Kōḍai-Ravi, and Ravi-Ādichchan, presumably a royal personage, is also mentioned therein. This record is also palaeographically attributable to the 12th century A. D.; but one cannot say if the Ravi-Rāmaṇ of the Tirukkāḍittāṇam record was connected with either of them.

On the west, south and east bases of the central shrine.

Text.¹

1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11*] கொ இரவிஇராமனுக்கு செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டிண்டு இ
தின் னெதிராமாண்டு மினத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற காக்கடகஞாயிறு
திருக்கடித்தானத் தூராரும் பரடையாரும் சபையாரும் நன்று[11]மு
நாடு வாழின்ற மணல்மன்றத் தியக்கஞ் சிரிகண்டனும் இவகள் மு
க்கால்வட்டத்து அவ்ரோத[11*]தால்க் கூடிச் செய்த காரியமாவது
[11*] படாரருடைய பண்டாரம் கெட்ட தென்செரிச் செந்நந் தாய
னுடைய இடையிடும் அவன் குடி இருந்த புரையிடமு ஞாறல்வெளிக
ரியும் ஸட்டக்கரியும் பயிற்றாட்டியாகின்ற நிலத்தில் இவன்னுள்ள கூ
றும் தென்வாய்ப் பலிக்கணத்தில்² அவன்னுள்ள பட்காரமும் இச்
சொன்ன நிலமும் புரையிடமும் தென்செரிச் செந்நந் தாயனுடைய
யிடையி டித்தனையும் மற்றும் பினுள்ளதெல்லாம் உள்ளொடுங்க ஊ
ரும் பரடையும் ஸனையும் இவகள் திருவுள்ளம் அவ்ரோதமாக்கி உ
ள்ளிருந்து நன்றுழை நாடு வாழின்ற மணல்மன்றத் தியக்கன் ஸ்ரீக
ண்டன்

2 பஞ்சமாஸுஷ³ அமைச்சான் அமைச்ச பரிசாவது [11*] நிராட்டுபள்ளி
க்கு அய்வர் கொட்டுவது [11*] திருப்பிக்கு நால்வர் கொட்டுவிது
[1*] கொட்டாது புள்ளிப்படிப்ப் பட்டவர் முந்நாழி நாழியால் இருநா
ழிச் செய்துநெல் தண்டமிடுவிது [1*] மூன்றுதென்காலமும் முட்டு
கில் இவ்வொபாதியால் எறின நெல் கொடுத்த கொட்டுவிது [1*]
ஒரு நாள் தெகிய முட்டுகில் இடங்கழியால் நாழி எண்ணை திருமெனி
மெலாட்டுவிது [1*] ஆட்டின எண்ணையில்ப் பாதியும் புள்ளிப்பட்ட
நெல்லும் கிழ்ச்சாந்தி செய்யுமவன் கொள்விது [1*] மற்றொழிஞ்ஞ
எண்ணை திருக்கொயிலுடையார் கொள்விது [1*] இப்பணி செய்

1 Registered as Nos. 90 of 1086 and 19 of 1097 of the Trav. Epig. Colln.

2 Probably பலிக்கண்டத்தில்.

3 Read 'பஞ்சமஹாஸுஷம்'—the five great sounds viz., *jeṇḍai*, *ṭimilai*, *ṣeṇḍai*, *kaṭṭai* and *kaḷam*, compare the Tiruvalla plates, I. 352-3.

1a
3a



1b
3b



1c
3c



1d
3d



வான் அமைஞ்ஞ பணிமக்கள் அடுத்து மூன்றுநாள் முட்டுகில் கிழச்
சாந்தியுடையவன் கிழ அமைஞ்ஞ பரிசு கொள்விது [1*] பலநாள் அ
டுத்து முட்டுகில் முட்டின அள[வு*] கண்டு ஊராளர் திருமெனி மெ
லாட்டிப்பிது [1*] இவ்வண்ணம் அமைச்ச பஞ்சமாஸஸும் விலக்கி மு
ட்டிக்குமவனும்

- 3 இதினுக் கமைஞ்ச பூமியும் புரையிடமும் பத்தாயமும் விடுவ்விதாக [1*]
பாடுதாந்நுவிதாக செய்தவனும் இருகூறு பறையுமவனும் ஊரான்
மைக் கிடையிடுந் கெட்டு பெருமானடிகளுக்கு நூற்றுக் கழஞ்ஞ
பொன்னுந் நன்று[ை*]மு நாடு வாழும்[வ*]ர்க்கு அயம்பதின் கழ
ந்நனும் வாழ்க்கைவாழும்வனுக்கு இருபத்தைந் கழஞ்ஞ பொன் ற
ண்டப்படுவிது [1*] இப்பரிசின் நாடுவாழ்ந்ந நாயரும் முந்நூற்றுவரும்
பணியுடையவகளும் உள்ளிருந்து இக்கச்சம் எழுதிச்சிது [1*] பணிம
க்களும் இதினுக்கு வருந்துப்பு வி[ல*]க்கினும் வருவிது [1*] ஓயாபில்
ஊராளரெ திர்த்து கொடுப்பிது [1*] இவகளில் ஆகாதவண்ண மிரு
க்கில் நாடு வாழும்வரையும் முந்நூற்றுவரும் பணி உடையவகளையும்
உருவதிச்ச அவகளால் விட்டிச்சக் கொள்விது [1*] இதினுக் கமை
ஞ்ஞ நிலம் ஒற்றி வைக்கவுந் கொள்ளவும் பெருர் [11*] வீலி மீ:—

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

When the year opposite to the second year of (the reign of) king Iravi-
Rāman was current, in the month of Karkāṭaka when Jupiter stood in Mīṇa, the
ūrār of Tirukkāḍittāṇam, the council (*paraḍai*), the (village) *sabhā*, and Iyakkaṇ-
Śirikaṇṭhaṇ of Maṇalmanṇam governing Naṇṇulai-nāḍu, met together amicably in
the temple and transacted the (following) business.

Having obtained the unanimous consent of the *ūr*, the *paraḍai* and the
sabhā for the following (pieces of land), namely,—the *iḍaiyīḍu* of Sēnnaṇ-Tāyaṇ
of Tenṣēri who audited the (accounts of the) temple-treasury, the site in which he
was residing, Jñāralvēlikari, Vaṭṭakkari, his portion in the land called Payirṇāṭṭi,
and his share as *paḍakāram* in Teṇvāyppalikkaṇ[d*]am—with all these above-
mentioned lands and sites together with the *iḍaiyīḍu* of Sēnnaṇ-Tāyaṇ of Tenṣēri,
Iyakkaṇ-Śirikaṇṭhaṇ of Maṇalmanṇam governing Naṇṇulai-nāḍu, who was present,
provided (in the following manner) for (sounding) the *pañchamahāśabda*.

Five (men) should sound during the (god's) bath (*nīrāṭṭupallī*) and four
(men) should sound during (the time of) the sacred *bali*.

Those that are absent (*pullippaḍu*) without sounding, shall pay a fine of
two measures of good paddy by the measure holding three *nāḷi*. If there is de-
fault for three occasions (during the day), they shall sound (only) after paying
the paddy that had accumulated under this restriction. If there is default
throughout the day, a fine of (one) measure of oil as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*
shall be (collected and) poured over the god. Half of this oil used for the (god's)
bath and the paddy accruing from default shall be taken by the person performing
(the work of) *kīḷṣānti*. The balance of the oil shall be taken by those in charge
of the temple (*tirukkōyiluḍaiyār*). If the servants (intended) for this service

(*pañchamahāśabda*) are remiss for three consecutive days, they shall be liable to the stipulated penalty under the (person officiating as) *kīlśānti*. If there is default for many days successively, the *ūrālar* shall (themselves) find the quantity of oil at default and shall have the god bathed with it.

He who causes this *pañchamahāśabda* constituted in this manner to be discontinued, shall relinquish the lands, sites and granary belonging to this (service). He who acts so as to support the side (of the above individual) and he who gainsays (the above terms) shall lose his tenancy rights (*iḍaiyīḍu*) under the *ūrānmai* and shall pay a fine of one hundred *kaḷañju* of gold to the king (*perumāṇaḍi*), fifty *kaḷañju* to the chief governing *Nanṟulai-nāḍu*, and twenty-five *kaḷañju* of gold to the officer in immediate control (*vāḷkkai-vāḷumavaṇ*).

These regulations appertaining to this transaction were drafted in the presence of the *Nāyar* ruling the (*Nanṟulai*)-*nāḍu*, the three-hundred, and the (temple) servants. The (temple) servants shall remove the hindrances arising to this (service). If not (so) freed by themselves the *ūrālar* shall settle (them). Should there be any objectionable individuals among them (the *ūrālar*), the difficulties shall be removed with the help and in the presence of the governor of the country (*nāḍiuvāḷumavar*), the three-hundred and the (temple) servants.

The lands dedicated to this (gift) shall not be mortgaged or bought.

Hail! Prosperity!

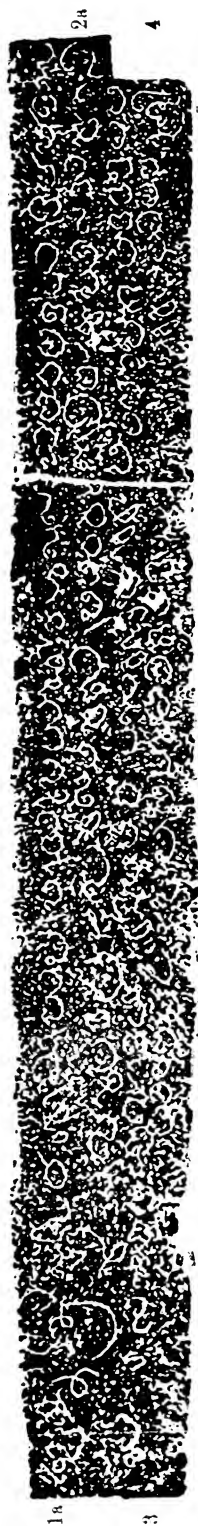
No. 56—Tirukkadittanam inscription of Bhaskara-Ravivarman.

The subjoined inscription from Tirukkadittāṇam is found engraved on the west and south walls of the central shrine in the Viṣṇu temple of that village. As only a portion of its first line was published on page 33 of Volume II of the *Travancore Archæological Series* with the remark that the record is incomplete, it had to be copied anew. and from the better impression thus secured the record is now edited.

It is in the Tamil language and in the Vaṭṭeluttu characters of the time of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman in whose 14th (2nd + 12th) year of reign it is dated. It registers that the *kōyiladhikāri* made a gift of the revenue in kind derivable from the village of Tirukkadittāṇam for feeding 24 brahmans in the temple, after deducting 12 *kalam*, which was set apart according to an earlier agreement for the payment of the impost to the ruler of the district. It is also stated that Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman, who was the governor of Veṇāḍu, was given administrative control over Nanṟulai-nāḍu also. As Tirukkadittāṇam, Peruneyil and Tiruvavṇḍūr are all mentioned to have been within the jurisdiction of the chief of that division, this district should have comprised the country lying between and possibly extending somewhat beyond these villages. Gōvarddhana also figures in the Cochin plate of Bhāskara-Ravi, 2nd + 36th year (*Ep. Ind.*, iii, 68).

The term *kōyiladhikāri* was evidently the designation of an influential officer, next in importance only to the king himself whom he represented, and who had control over the subordinate rulers of districts and small principalities, such as

TIRUKKADITTANAM RECORD OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN.



Scale: one-eighth.

A. S. Ramanatha Aygar.

Venāḍu, Nanrulaiṇādu etc. Such an office of power and responsibility will naturally have been bestowed on a member of the central ruling dynasty, possibly on the heir-apparent himself, whom this probation was calculated to put in proper preliminary administrative training. Thus we find Vijayarāgadeva figuring as a *kōyiladhikārī* in the records of Sthānu-Ravi, whom he must have eventually succeeded, and a Kulasekhara-chakravartin in a Gūḷon epigraph of Kollam 278. It is just possible that this office was synonymous with the other designation of '*ilangū-ru-vālmnāruliyār*', by which was meant that of the *ilankō* or heir-apparent to the throne who had under his administration the lesser half of the dominions (*ilangō-kūru*, *ilangūru*); and that these *kōyiladhikāṅṅal* gradually lost some of their monopoly of influence, dwindling to the subordinate status of Devasvām Commissioners to control the affairs of several temples. The term seems to be almost a synonym of the word *taliyādiri* of the *Kēralōlppatti* and the *taliyālvān* of inscriptions. The explanation has elsewhere¹ been offered that the office of *kōyiladhikārī* may have originated from the time when the Sāmanta-kṣatriya chiefs, whose services had been requisitioned by the brāhmanical landed gentry of Kēraḷ for the proper conduct of administrative business and for the preservation of the public peace, were originally placed in charge of the temple demesne by the *Sāhētanis* or (religious corporations), which had developed round the living nuclei of temples, and that these officers may have gradually monopolised much of the power from the hands of these assemblies over which they presided. Or it may be that they were put in charge of the palace management also (*kōyil*=palace) to deserve that designation. That some *kōyiladhikāṅṅal* in their subordinate status were not necessarily members of the royal house, but were often also their agents and subordinates, seems to be evident from the fact that an inscription² of the time of Bhāskara-Ravi from Perumvil mentions two individuals Ravi-Kaṇṇi of Vellūr and Kumara-Nārāyaṇan of Kulamaṅgalam as the *kōyiladhikāṅṅal* and the interpretation making them to be mere engravers of the record on stone does not seem to be correct.

The peculiarities of the language of the document are not many except that the usual dialectical forms, such as, *amaechhu*, *vāḷṇnu* and *kalaññu* are used in place of *amaittu*, *vāḷndu*, and *kalañju*.

Text³

I ஸ்விஸ்தி [11*] கொப் பாக்கரணிவிவரமர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற
யாண் டிரண்டிரமாண்டைக் தெதிந் பந்திரமாண்டு வெலுடுடைய
4கொவர்தனம் மார்த்தாண்ட[னை] அஃமச்சு நன் லுழைநாடுவாழ்ந்து
திருக்கடித்தானத்தால் நாட்டினுக்கு ஆட்டுங்கொள்ளும் உடம்பா
ட்டால் வாழ்க்கை ஆக [பாட்ட]5 இடங்கழியால் பந்திரு கலந் நெல்
ஆட்டைக்கொளாக அ[ன]மச்சுமிக்கது அட்டி கொடுந்து அது

1 *Malabar Quarterly-Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 116.

2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 44.

3 Registered as No. 18 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. B. (No. 94 of 1086).

4 Cancel 'ம்.

5 The reading is tentative.

- 2 கொண்டு இருபத்துநாலு கல மக்கிர மமச்சுருளிநர் கொவிலதிகாரிகள்
[11*] இப்பந்திருகலமும் நாடுவாமுமவர்க்கு ஊரும் பொதுவாஹும் கூ
டிக்க கொடுக்ககடவியர் [11*] திருவக்கிரத்தினு விரோதம் பண்ணி மு
ட்டிக்கு மிடையிடன் கொயிலதிகாரிகள்க்கு இருபத்தை(ம்)ங் கழை
ஞ்ஞ பொன்னு நாடுவாமுமவர்க்கு பந்திருகழைஞ்ஞ அஞ்சு காண
மு வாழ்க்கை வாழமவர்க்கு அறுக-
- 3 கழைஞ்ஞ இரண்டரைக் காணமும் ஆட்டைக்கொள்[வா]ர்க்கும் பொ
ன்னுங் கூடத் தண்டம்
- 4 படக்கடவியன் [11*] பாடுதாங்குமவறு மித்தண்டம் படக்கடவியன் ஸ்ரீ
[11*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

While the 12th year opposite the second year (of the reign) of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi was current, the Kōyiladhikārigal after having appointed Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍan who was governing Vēṇāḍu; to administer Naṇṇulai-nāḍu (also), and after having apportioned twelve *kalam* of paddy as the (*āṭṭaikkol*) yearly payment from (the village of) Tirukkadittānam according to agreement towards the impost (*vāḷkkai*-tax) due to the *nāḍu*, made a gift of the balance; and with this he was pleased to make provision (in the temple) for twenty-four plates of food (i. e., for feeding twenty-four persons).

The *ūr* and *poduvāl* shall together give this twelve *kalam* (of paddy) to the governor of the district (*nāḍu-vāḷumavar*).

The *idaiyīḍaṇ* who does injury to this feeding and stops it, shall pay a fine of twenty-five *kaḷaṇḍu* of gold to the Kōyiladhikārigal, twelve *kaḷaṇḍu* and five *kāṇam* to the ruler of the District, six *kaḷaṇḍu* and two and a half *kāṇam* to the officer (*vāḷkkaivāḷumavar*) in immediate charge (of the village), and (one) *poṇ* to the collector of the annual impost.

He who abets (the above person at default) shall also be liable to the same fine. Śrī!

No. 57—Record of Bhaskara-Ravivarman: 2nd + 24th year.

The present record is also from the same Viṣṇu temple at Tirukkadittānam and is found engraved in Vattēlutu on the south base of the central shrine. As the first two lines only of this inscription were published on page 40 of Vol. II of the *Trav. Archl. Series*, it had to be copied afresh, before a complete transcript could be prepared.

The record is dated in the 24th year opposite the 2nd year of reign of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, when Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman who was the governor of Vēṇāḍu was administering Naṇṇulai-nāḍu as well. From the inscription published above, it is learnt that the latter district was added to the administrative jurisdiction of Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍa about twelve years previously,

in the 12th year opposite the 2nd year of reign of the same suzerain, Bhāskara-Ravivarman. From this, and from the Cochin plate it follows that Vēṇāḍu was ruled by Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman at least between Kollam 167 and 191.

The epigraph states that the *parishad*, the *gana* and the *poduṭāl* of the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam met together and ordered that the holdings of the drummers (*kottigal*) shall not be taken up for cultivation or on mortgage by the *kōyiludaiyār*, the supervisors of the temple, and that those who transgress this condition shall be punished by fines payable to the governor of the district and to the village chief.

The last sentence which states that the record was engraved at the instance of the *wachchar*s or drummers shows that they had a grievance, as their holdings apparently been taken up by those in authority to their own disadvantage, and that they appear to have made their position secure by this restriction.

Text.

- 1 ஷ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ [1*] கொபாற்கரணிரவிவர்ம்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டிரண்டினே தீர் இருபத்துநாலாமாண்டு வெண்டுடைய கொவர் த்தனமா[ர்த்]தாண்டன் நன்றுமுநாவொழத் [திருக்கடி]த்தானத்து
- 2 பரிடையுங் கணத்தாரும் பொதுவாள்மாரு[ம்*] நன்றுமுநா[ட்*]டு முந் நூற்றுவுரும் பணி செய்கின்ற நெடும்புறத்து குன்றங் கொவந்தனும் [ஊம]மன்றத் திரவியிராமனுங் கூடி கச்சமாவது [11*] திருக்கடித்தானத்து
- 3 திருக்கொயிலுடையாரும் கொட்டிகளுடைய வீருத்தி ஒற்றி கொள்ளவும் அவை யுழவு உழவும் பெறார் [1*] ஊராளரும் இடையிடரும் பொது ஆளும் ஒற்றிகொள்[ளுமவன்] யுமவன் நாவொழுமவர்க்கு இ-
- 4 ருபத்து நார்க்கழைநும் வாழ்க்கை உடையவர்க்கு பந்திருகழைநு பொ-ன்னுந் தண்டப்படுவிது [1*] அவன்கு பாடுதாங்குமவனும் இத்தண்டமெ படுவிது [1*] பணிமானிடம் ஒற்றி இடையிடு கூடியிரு கூடி க்கு வாதிச்-
- 5 சொர்க்கு உழவடுத்து கொள்ளக்கடவர் [1*] அது விலக்குமவர்களும் இத்தண்டமெ படுவிது [1*] பணி மானிடத்தைப் புள்ளிகிழ மைகு வண்ணமெ கணத்தாருங் சாந்தி செய்யுமவரனும் கண்டுகொள்விது [1*] உவச்சகள்
- 6 எழுதிது [11*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the twenty-fourth year opposite to the second year which was current (in the reign) of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi when Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍan of Vēṇāḍu was also administering Nanṇulai-nāḍu, the *parishad*, the *gana*

1 Registered as No. 48 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 M. E. This has been published incompletely — T. A. S., Vol. II p. 40.

and the *poduvāl* of Tirukkāḍittānam, the 'three-hundred' of Nanṇulai-nāḍu and the (temple servants Kunṇaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Neḍumpuṇam and Ravi-Rāmaṇ of having met, passed the following resolution:—

The trustees of the temple (*tirukkōyil-uḍaiyār*) at Tirukkāḍittānam shall not take on mortgage or for cultivation lands belonging to the drummers (*koṭṭikāl*). The *ūrālar*, *iḍaiyīḍar* and *poduvāl* shall not (also) take them on mortgage.

Such of the *ūrālar* or *iḍaiyīḍar* as take (these holdings) on mortgage shall be liable to a fine of twenty-four *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold to the governor of the district, and twelve *kaḷaṇṇu* to the officer in immediate charge (of the village). He that supports him (the transgressor) shall be subject to the same fine.

..... shall take the cultivation. He who obstructs this shall be liable to the same penalty. The *gana* (members) and those who perform the *sānti* (worship) shall supervise the servants in the stipulated manner.

This was written by the drummers (*uvachchar*).

No. 58—Another record for Tirukkāḍittānam.

This inscription which is engraved on the south base of the same Vishṇu temple at Tirukkāḍittānam registers the gift of certain fields which Dēvaṇ-Rāmaṇ of Muttūru made for providing certain offerings to the god (*bhaḷārār*) at Tirukkāḍittānam. The Vaṭṭeluttu characters of the record approximate to the date of Bhāskara-Ravivarman.

Muttūru, the village from which the donor hailed is in the Tiruvalla taluk and has been referred to in the *Unṇuṇṇilisaṇḍēśam* in the following lines:

முத்தூர் ஐயுந் திருக்கடித்தானத்து பழாரர்க்கு நாநாழி அரி
தருவமி-
ர்து உச்சையாகத்து பந்திரடிக்கு செல்வான் அமைச்சு பூமி [1*] கண்ணன்
கரி தெகியவும் எடை-
யற்புரையிடமு மொழியர் வாழ்க்கையும் மன்னவெலியு மணலொடியமினி
ற்றில் [ப்] பாதி [11*]

Text.¹

- 1 முத்தூற்று தெவனிராமன் திருக்கடித்தானத்து பழாரர்க்கு நாநாழி அரி தருவமி-
- 2 ர்து உச்சையாகத்து பந்திரடிக்கு செல்வான் அமைச்சு பூமி [1*] கண்ணன் கரி தெகியவும் எடை-
- 3 யற்புரையிடமு மொழியர் வாழ்க்கையும் மன்னவெலியு மணலொடியமினி ற்றில் [ப்] பாதி [11*]

Translation.

The lands which Dēvaṇ-Rāmaṇ of Muttūru set apart for providing sacred offerings of four *nāḷi* of rice at twelve-feet time before midday to the god (*bhaḷārār*) of Tirukkāḍittānam are the following:—the whole of Kaṇṇaṇkari, and half of the lands (called) Eḍaiyaṇ-puraiyidaṇ, Moḷiyar-vāḷkkai, Maṇṇa-veli, and Maṇalōḍi.

¹ Registered as No. 49 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1099 M. R. (same as No. 92 of 1086.)

No. 59.—Tirukkadittanam Inscription.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkadittāṇam. It is in the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet and the Tamil language, and registers the gift of the land called Nelvādil-kāḍu by Kaṇḍaṇ-Kumaraṇ *alias* Māluvakkōṇ of Kīlūmalai for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tirukkudittāṇam. The recipients of the gift were the members of the village assembly and the *poduvāl*, who, it is said, in company with 'the three-hundred' of Naṇṇulai-nāḍu and 'the six-hundred' of Kīlūmalai, made it over to Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkūlam, stipulating that he shall enjoy the right of cultivation and give in return, on the day of Rōhinī in the month of Kumbha, either 12 *kalam* of paddy in kind (as measured) by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*, or 6 *kaḷaṇṇu* of pure gold.

Kīlūmalai-nāḍu was the name of the tract of land in the north-eastern corner of the State lying at the foot of the Western Ghats, and represented by the modern taluks of Devikulam, Toḍupulā and a portion of Māvāttupulā. The capital of this independent principality was Kārikkōḍu near Toḍupulā and it continued to retain its autonomy even as late as Kollam 754.¹ It may have been absorbed into the greater division of Vaḍakkumkūru in about the end of the 16th century A. D., as it has been record by the Portuguese chronicler Gouvea that the Rāṇi of Vaḍakkumkūru adopted the Rāja of Toḍupulā, on failure of issue. Kōḍikkūlam is also a village in the Karimannūr pagudi of the Toḍupulā taluk.

The inscription is dated on the day of Tiruvōṇam falling on a Monday in the month of Kumbha of the year in which Jupiter was in Rishabha. The same individual Māluvakkōṇ made a gift in favour of the Vishṇu temple of Tiruvalla on the day of Viśākha corresponding to a Wednesday in the month of Makara, when Jupiter was in Tula, for sounding the five great sounds or the *pañchamahāśabda*. In it also, Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkūlam figures. As such, the date of the subjoined inscription may be seven years after or five years before that of the gift recorded in the Tiruvalla copper-plates. To judge from the characters, the record seems to belong to the end of the 11th century A. D.

The expression 'சூடுமுதையும் வருவிது அறுகழைஞ்ஞ பொன்' in line 6 may be compared with 'அட்டுவெட்டிச் சூடுக்கு தந்து காச்சாற்றி கைசெல்வது கழஞ்சிற் பேர்த்த துளைப்பொன் உரையும் துளையும் வருவாதது' occurring in an inscription of Rājarāja I (No. 218 of 1911), where the genuineness of the gold currency was tested by the fineness of the gold and the punch-mark (*tula*), which was presumably stamped on the discs by order of the issuing government. The word 'valuvādadu', which prescribed that the fineness of gold should not be found to be wanting, is

1 Vide. *Bhāṣāpōshini* for 1096, p. 15.

அஞ்ஞம் புகடு கொல்லுமெழுநூராவதுநாயகன்
அருங்கிசெயின திணடு லெழு பெரு வுழி ௩.
அருண் மனிகளும் டிசுமெருநடுபெய்து
அருங்கிசெயின துளையுமினிவிசு
அருங்கு ராஜமனிகளவிடா கிழ்மவவாழ்கோய்ன்
அருங்குபொருவ கருணைமனிக் கருதி வருணி மேறென்

here expressed by the positive word *varuvidu*, 'which possessed the necessary fineness and carat'.

Text.¹

- 1 ஹுலி ஸ்ரீ [||*] இடபத்துள் வியாழந் நிற்க கும்ப ஞாயிற்று திங்களாண்ட திருவொணத்தின் னுள் திருக்கடித்தானத்துப் பட்டா[ர்*]க்கு கிழ மலையுடைய² கண்டங் குமரனாய மாளுவக்கொன் நந்தாவிளக் கமைச்சான். [||*] இந் நந்தாவிளக்கி-
- 2 னு தன்னுடைய, நெல்வாதில்காடாகின்ற செரிக்கல் [க]ரையும் வயலுங் காட³ னுள்ளொடுங்க இதனுபடும தெல்லாங் கூட அட்டிக்கொடுத்தான் கிழமலையுடைய கண்டங் குமரனாய மாளுவக்கொன் [||*] நெல்வாதிலாகின்ற செரிக்கல் திருக்கடித்தானத்-
- 3 தூரும் பொதுவாள்மாரும் கிழமலை அறு⁴ நூற்றுவரையு நன்றுழைநாட்டு முந்நூற்றுவரையும் பணியுடைய[ர்]சனையு முள்வைச்ச கொடிக்களமுடைய இயக்கங் கொவிந்நனுக்கு காரான்மை அட்டிக் கொடுத்தார் ஊரும் பொதுவாள்மாரும் [||*] இத்திருவிளக்கு இச்செரிக்கல் லா[ரு]ம்
- 4 [கிழமலை] அறுநூற்றுவரு நன்றுழைநாட்டு முந்நூற்றுவரு பணியுடைய[ர்]களு[ம்*] பொதுவாள்மாரு[ம்*] இதினுக்கு வருங் குறைவு குற்ற முண்டாகில் விட்டிச்செல்லுத்திக்கக் கடவியர் [||*] இவ்விளக்கு கிழருவி நடையொடு [கூ]-
- 5 டச் செலுத்தக் கடவியர் [||*] விளக்கு முட்டிக்குமவர் கச்சத்தில்ப்பட்ட தண்டமெய் படக்கவியர் [||*] கொடிக்களத்து இயக்கங் கொவிந்ந[ன்*] ஓராண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டாரட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியன் [||*] விளக்கினு கும்ப ஞா-
- 6 யிற்று உரொயணி நாள் பொதுவாள்மார் கையில், நெல்க் கொடுக்கி விடங் கழியால்ப் பந்நிரு கலங் கொடுப்பிது [||*] பொன் கொடுக்கில் சூடுமுறையும் வருவிது⁵ அறு கழைஞ்ஞ நினைப் பொன் கொடுப்பிது[||] இயக்கன் கொவிந்நன்
- 7 உடையாரடியான் கண்டனிர[வி]⁶

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity !

On the day of Tiruvōṇam, which fell on a Monday in the month of Kum-bha of the year in which Jupiter stood in Rishabha, Kaṇḍaṇ-Kumaraṇ *alias* Mā-luvakkōṇ of Kīlūmalai, supplied a perpetual lamp to (the temple of) the god at Tirukkādittāṇam. For this perpetual lamp, Kaṇḍaṇ-Kumaraṇ *alias* Mā-luvakkōṇ

1 Registered as No. 88 of 1086 and No. 17 of the Trav. Epig. Colln.

2 y is entered below the line.

3 Perhaps காடு முள்ளொடுங்க.

4 The syllables நூற்று are entered below the line, a mark being made after அறு.

5 The word occurs elsewhere as வருவாதது; although வருவிது may also be taken as meaning, 'that possesses the necessary fineness', and occurs as such in T. 384 of the Tiruvalla plates (T. A. S., Vol. II, p. 191).

6 The records stops here.

of Kīlūmalai gave with libation (of water) his land known as Nelvādil-kāḍu, inclusive of gardens, wet, and forest lands along with all the appurtenances.

The *ūrār* and *poduvālmār*¹ of Tirukkadittāṇam, in the presence of 'the six-hundred' of Kīlūmalai, the 'three-hundred' of Naṇṇulai-nāḍu and the servants, gave the land called Nelvādil as a *kārānmai* to Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkaḷam.

The *ūrār* of this Śerikkal, 'the six-hundred' of Kīlūmalai, 'the three-hundred' of Naṇṇulai-nāḍu, the servants and the *poduvālmār* shall, in case of any deficiency or default arising, make that good and see to the maintenance of the lamp. They shall have this lamp maintained along with the expenses of the temple.

Those who cause any impediment to (the burning of) this lamp, shall be liable to the fine fixed in this agreement. If Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkaḷam causes default in any one year, he shall have to pay double the quantity at default.

In making payment on the day of Rōhiṇi in the month Kumbha into the hands of the *poduvāl*, if it is in paddy, twelve *kalam* as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi* shall be given, and if gold is paid, six *kaḷañju* in weight of gold having the proper carat and fineness shall be given. Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ, Uḍaiyārāḍiyan Kandaṇ-Ravi . . .

No. 60.—Two sculptured panels at Tirukkadittanam.²

Nāṭya-sāstra, or the art of dancing and acting was developed in great elaboration by Bharatamuni in his *Bharataśāstra* of about the 3rd or the 4th century A. D; but as it was itself probably based on the earlier Nāṭyasutras of Sīlālin and Kṛiṣṇasva,³ which have been referred to by and must therefore have lived before the great grammarian Pāṇini, the age of the Dancing Art of Aryan India, as a science, mounts up to very high antiquity. The Tāmilian branch of this art, although it followed its Aryan sister in certain particulars and copied several of the technical terms relating to that science in later times, must have had, however, an antiquity equally great and also maintained a distinct individuality in this, as in many other branches of culture; for, we find here several varieties of dances peculiar to her own independent civilisation, which are absent in the Sanskrit treatises. In the *Araṅgērrukāḍai* and the *Kaḍalāḍukāḍai*, the third and sixth chapters of the *Puḡār-kāṇḍam*, the first book of *Śilappadigāram*⁴, reference is made to several of the varieties of dances in vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the learned commentator Aḍiyārkkunallār (c. 1200 A. D.) has taken this opportunity to insert, with copious quotations from some rare Tāmili works, such as *Agattiyaṁ*, *Seviriyaṁ*, *Jayantāṁ*, *Gūṇanūl*, *Nāṭaka-tamiḷ-nūl* of Mativāṇa etc., a fairly detailed account on the characteristics, significance, utility etc. of the the various kinds of Dances, whether purely pantomimic or accompanied by

1 The phrase 'உரும் பொதுவார்மரும்' is repeated in the text.

2 This paper appeared in the *Mythic Society's Journal* for April 1924.

3 Q. J. M. S., Vol. XII, page 157.

4 *Śilappadigāram*, page 80.

music, both vocal and instrumental, the principal representatives of the latter being the *yāl* and the *kuḷal*.

Kūttus or Dances were primarily divided into several pairs of sub-divisions consistent with their character; and one such classification was the *Śāntikkūttu* and the *Vinōdakkūttu*. The former is the collective name of four kinds¹ of Dances which were indulged in by the hero or the dancer in a mood of reposeful enjoyment and as a means of æsthetic recreation; while the *Vinōdakkūttu*² which had to appeal to the masses was mostly of a spectacular than an intellectual kind and was subdivided into the six varieties: *Kuravai*, *Kilinaṭam*, *Kuḍakkūttu*, *Karaṇam*, *Nōkku* and *Tōrpāvai* with the optional inclusion of the *Vidūḍakkūttu* or sometimes of the *Veriyāttu* as the seventh. Of these, *Kuḍakkūttu* was also one of the eleven varieties (according to another grouping) danced by the *dēvas* in their fight with their born enemies the *asuras*, which are numerated in the following stanza:—

‘கடையமயி ராணிமரக் கால்விந்தை கந்தன்
குடைதுடி மா லல்லியமல் சும்பஞ் சுடர் விழியாற்
பட்டமதன் பேடுதிரூப் பாவையான் பாண்டரங்கங்
கொட்டியிவை காண்பதினோர் கூத்து’.

These again were classified into two groups of six and five each according to the posture of dancing, either standing or otherwise:—

‘அல்லியங் கொட்டி குடைசூடும் பாண்டரங்க
மல்லுட னீன்றா லாறு’
and ‘துடிசுடையம்பேடு மரக்காலே பாவை
வடிவுடன் விழந்தாட னைத்து’.

Of these, we shall take up for consideration only the two varieties *Kuḍai* and *Kuḍam*, which are described in the following lines of the *Kuḍalāḍukāḍai* as having been played on two special occasions:

‘படைவீழ்த் தவுணர் பையு ளெய்தக்
குடை வீழ்த் தவர்மு னுடிய குடையும்.
வாணன் பேரூர் மறுகிடை நடந்து
நீணில மளந்தோ னுடிய குடமும்’ (ll. 52-45).

In his commentary on these lines, Adiyārkkunallār says that god Subrahmanya⁴ after rhaving slain the demon Śūrapadmāsura, who had concealed himself in the ocean, danced his war-dance of triumph on the heaving wave-platform of the oceanic stage to the accompaniment of the rattle of his drum (*tudī*), and that at a later stage, when all the other remaining Rākshasas threw down their weapons in despair

1 namely, *Sokkam*, *Meyykkūttu*, *Avinayam* and *Nāṭakāṇi*.

2 எழுவுகைக் கூத்து மிழிகுலத் தோரை, யாட னகுத்தனைகத்தியன் குளே

—page 81.

3 *Silappadigāram*, page 89.

4 —‘மாத்தகட னடுவ-

னீர்த்திரை யரங்கத்து நிகர்த்து முன்னின்
குர்த்திரங் கடந்தோர் னுடிய துடியும்—

ll. 49 to 51 of *Kuḍalāḍukāḍai*.

Compare also சேடனுக்கச்சண்டாளரக்கர்க்கு

மாணவிட்டுகுண். டேழுகைக்கடல்கள்

சேதவற்றனின் குடிவிற்கரம் ரமதோண் மேற்

—*Tiruppugāḷ*.

and fled the field before the war-lord's impetuous onslaught, Subrahmanya screened his face with a parasol and played in exultant derision the *Kuḍaikkūttu* or the Umbrella-dance. These are the two¹ varieties of dances mentioned as peculiar to this god, and it is noticeable that both of them are of Tamilian origin and do not find corresponding equivalents in the sub-divisions described in the Sanskrit *Nāṭya-śāstras*. Muruga (the Tamil synonym of Kumāra) is more popular in Tamilian South India than in the Aryan north, where his worship is not so much favoured;² and we find him given an equal status with Viṣṇu and Śiva in early Tamil literature. He was the tutelary³ deity of the *kurinjinila-mākkaḷ* or hill-men in whose routine of worship *tuḍi* (drum)⁴ was the chief musical accompaniment and *Veriyāṭṭu*, a kind of wild spirit-possessed dance, formed an important feature. *Tirumurugārṟuppaḍai* the first poem in the *Paṭṟupṭāṭṭu* is in praise of this god Murugaṇ and is considered so sacred as to be utilised by the devout 'Murugites' for their daily recitation (*pārāyaṇam*), while as many as eight pieces out of the twenty-four in the available *Paripāḍal* are exclusively dedicated to the glorification of Śevvēḷ (Subrahmanya). These *Kuḍaikkūttus* are now sometimes performed during temple processions when the god's umbrella-bearer cuts some capers with his unwieldy parasol; but the *Kāvaḍikkūttu* is a greater favourite in these days in Murugaṇ's worship and festivities.

The second variety called the *Kuḍakkūttu* is another dance peculiar to the Tamil genius, and we do not find its counter-part in the premier Sanskrit treatises on the art of Dancing. Its origin has to be traced to the purely pastoral pursuits of its votaries, the shepherds, who eventually came to consider it as one of the three favourite dances of god Viṣṇu in his special manifestation as Gōpāla, the Divine Shepherd⁵. In the Śaṅgam works, but more frequently in the impassioned utterances⁶ of the Vaiṣṇava-ālvārs, reference is made to the partiality of Kṛṣṇa to this kind of dance. One such instance is in a verse⁷ of Periyālvār's *Tirumōi*, where its learned commentator has attempted to trace the origin of this kind of pastoral dance as follows:—

- 1 குடையோடு துடியிரண்டும் குமரனதாலாமே
அறமுக்கதோ ஞுடல் குடை and துடியாடல் வேன்முருகஞுடல் — Chāḍamāṇi.
- 2 Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, page 415.
- 3 சேயோன் மேயகாடுறை யுலகமும் — Tolkaṇṇiyam (Aha. s. 5)
- 4 தொண்டகமுருகியம் போர்த்துடி குறுஞ்சிப்பறைபோர் — Chāḍamāṇi.
- 5 மாயோன் மேயகாடுறை யுலகமும் — Tolkaṇṇiyam.
- குன்றெடுத்த ஆசிரை காத்த பிரான், கோவலமும்: குமுறுநிழிநி,
கன்றுகள் மேய்த்துத் தன் தோழரோடு, கலந்துடன் வருவான்
இடவலகுடவலகோவல காவல
குடத்தாடல் குன்றெடுத்தோஞுடல் — Periyāḷvaṇ Tirumōḷi.
— Paripadal 3-ம் பத்த, l. 43.
— Silap., page 89.
- 6 குடங் கலந்தாடிக் குாவைமுன்கோத்த கூத்த எ-ன் திருமொழி.
குடமாடு கூத்தன் கோலிந்தன் — நாச்சியார் திருமொழி.
குடமாடிக் கோவலமும் மேலி என்னஞ்சும்
இடமாகக் கொண்டஇறை — இயற்பா, 2-ம் திருவி, பா. 98.
குடமாடி இம்மன்னும் விண்ணும் குறுங்க் உலகனந்து
நடமாடிய பெருமான் — இயற்பா, திருவி, பா 38.
குடமாடல் வாய்ந்த பரதத் துவத்தான் — திருவேங்கடமாமக, 48.
- 7 குடங்கனெடுத் தேறவிட்டுக் கூத்தாடவல்ல எங்கோவே — உ-ம்பத்து, எ-ம் திருமொழி.

"As brahmans perform sacrifices in days of plenty, so too do shepherds in prosperous times give vent to their exuberance of joy in improvising the *Kuḍakkūttu* or the Pot-Dance"—a recreation that would naturally have suggested itself to a class of men whose wealth was wooed, so to say, out of the cornucopia of their milk and butter-pots. "The dancer balances a tier of pots on his head and a few more on his shoulders and throwing up some in the air, catches them as they fall in succession" (thus keeping up a continuous line of pots going round in the same manner as the game of *ammānai* is being played by little girls). "The pots are either common earthen ones or are made of an amalgam of five metals (*pañchalōham*)". Lord Kṛishṇa as the prince of all shepherds (*āyarkōn*), was therefore the hero-elect of these pastoral performances, more particularly of the '*Kuravaikūttu*, (Skt. *Rāsakrīdā*), the idyllic dance played in the moonlit lawns of Brindavana to the entrancing accompaniment of his own divine flute, the musical instrument typical of *mullai-nīlam*. The *Kuḍakkūttu* is popular even today in the form *Karakamāṭṭam* connected with the worship of Kālī, in the *Uṇiyāḍi* festival commemorating the sports of the infant Kṛishṇa and in the street-acrobats' performances.

But the authors of the *Śilappadigāram* and its commentary mention also a different occasion on which this Pot-Dance was played, viz, that of the defeat of Bāṇāsura in his own capital of Śōṇitapura (Śōṇagaram). Aniruddha, the son and grandson respectively of Pradyumna and Kṛishṇa, made love on the sly to Ushā the beautiful daughter of Bāṇa, and was forthwith imprisoned by the irate father in his invincible fire-girt castle. But Kṛishṇa², despite the spirited opposition of Śiva, Subrahmaṇya, Gaṇeśa and all the goblin hordes, entered the city, defeated Bāṇa and would have slain him outright, but for the timely pleading of Śiva and the asura-king's agreement to publicly celebrate the marriage of his daughter with her secretive lover. This was the occasion when Kṛishṇa signalled his triumph by a frolicsome spell of his favourite Pot-Dance. Two other varieties³ attributed to him are the *alliyam* and the *mallu* which he indulged in on the occasions respectively of killing the elephant-emissary of Kāṁsa and Kāṁsa himself. Kṛishṇa had in his eventful life in the Āyarchēri several other opportunities for dancing; he danced his petulant and jubilant dances when butter and curds⁴ were denied or given him and danced again on the five-headed serpent Kālīya, who was fouling the Yamunā's waters.⁵

It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Bālarāmabhāratam* a work on the Dancing Art composed by the royal author Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśekhara (1758-98) the Mahārāja of Travancore mentions Shaṇmukha (Subrahmaṇya) and Kṛishṇa among the *bharata-pradhāna-purushas*, or important divinities intimately connected with the Dance.

1 தொடுத்தகை கோத்தாடற்பேர் சொல்லிய குரவையென்ப — *Chudāmaṇi*.

This dance has been described in the Aycheliyār-Kuravai in *Śilappadigāram*.

2 Compare the following description

மோடியோடவங்கிடுகெப்படி மங்கியோடவைக்கேரன்

முடுகியோட முருகனோட முக்கனீசன் மக்கனீசன்

தேடியோடவானையிரம் புயங்கள் குறுதிநீர்

கிந்தியோட நேமிதோட்ட திருவரங்கராசரே

— திருவரங்கக்கலம்பகம், 39.

3 குடமல் லேயல்லியந்தான் கொண்டல்வண்ணன் தன் கூத்து

— *Chudāmaṇi*.

TWO SCULPTURED PANELS AT TIRUNKADITTANAM.



The reason why the two varieties called the *Kuḍaikkūttu* and the *Kuḍakkūttu* have been detailed above is because the sculptured figures on the two *vāli*-panels flanking the entrance into the *sanctum* of the Adbhuta-Nārāyaṇa temple at Tirukkadittanam (Chenganachery taluk) may be taken to represent these two types of dances. The sculptures seem to belong to the beginning of the 11th century, and may therefore be contemporaneous with the few records of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman (c. A. D. 1000) found engraved on the base of the circular *adhithāna* of the *garbhagriha* of the temple. The *Kuḍaikkūttu* panel is a good piece of workmanship and represents the dancer as exhibiting his skill on the dais of a covered *maṇḍapa*, (the *Raṅgamaṇḍapa* or the *Kūttambalam* of temples?), while an attendant standing to his left holds an umbrella aloft, its duplicate being held perhaps by the dancer himself, although this detail is not quite clear in the sculpture. Two other attendants provide the musical accompaniment consisting of the inevitable *mṛidaṅgam* and a pair of cymbals. A flock of five *hamsas*, looking more like ducklings than royal swans, is seen sunning itself on the roof of the *maṇḍapa* and adds to the picturesqueness of the composition.

The other panel⁶ representation of *Kuḍakkūttu* is also from the chisel of the same sculptor, as is evident from the general style of its work and the recurrence of the same details as in the other piece. The posture of the dancer is, if anything, more vivacious and the attendants are figured with a more expressive touch of realism: witness the agile bend of the drummer's body and the watchful pose of his head. The dancer's head is dressed up in the *karanda-makūṭa* or the *dhammilla* style popular in representations of Krishna and the absence of the tier of pots has to be accounted for by limitations of space. Two pots each are enjoying doubtful equilibrium on the extended left and bent right arms of the dancer, while three or four pots are seen dangling in space thrown up in the quick volutions of his rhythmic movements to be caught up as they fall and thrown up again in succession.

Such are the two dances delineated in the accompanying illustration and their importance, if any, lies in the fact that they represent varieties of the ancient Tamil dances, some of which at least were the independent product of the distinctive culture of the early Tamils and are still enjoying a fugitive existence, though in somewhat altered forms, in Kōṭṭa, the unroofed 'Old Curiosity Shop' of early customs and institutions.

No. 61—Record of Bhāskara-Ravivarman: 2 + . . . year.

The subjoined record of Bhāskara-Ravivarman is found engraved on the upper face of the narrow *upāna* (lowermost stone-member) of the base of the central shrine of the Adbhutanārāyaṇa temple at Tirukkadittanam, which contains many

4 Compare the title of வேண்ணெய்க்குத்தர்.

5 பெயரவின் குட்டித் திரைப்பத நாட்டினர் சேர்.

கானகமர்மகிற் காணிநுச்செயிலே நாட்டம்மயிலும் கத்தர்.

—Tiruvēṅkaṭamalai.

6 It is perhaps a happy coincidence that the temple contains a sculptural representation of the *Kuḍakkūttu*, while Nannālvār has described the god of this place as:

வைகுந்தம், கோவில்லொண்டி குடக்கத்த அம்மனே

verse 5.

other records of the same Chēra sovereign. The stones comprising the basement having become slightly disturbed on account of age, the top portion of the first line of this epigraph is hidden away by the next superposed thin *champa* stone-member supporting the *kumuda*-moulding, so that the writing could be deciphered only by tracing the visible lower portions of the letters. Although I had suspected and realised the importance of this record more than a year ago, I could not make it public, as I could then produce only an eye-copy in support of my reading and could not substantiate it by an indisputable facsimile. I have now managed after some trouble to get a fairly satisfactory estampage prepared; and this piece of epigraphical evidence is entitled to much greater consideration than all the debatable arguments based merely on astronomical, palaeographical and linguistic data, that had hitherto been advanced in attempts at determining this Chēra king's date.

This record is dated in the . . . year (here one stone is much defaced) opposite to the 2nd year of the reign of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, and mentions, that while Gōvarddhana (this portion is mutilated)-Mārttāṇḍavarman was governing Naṇṇulai-nāḍu, Śrīvallabhañ-Kōḍavarman, the ruler of Vēṇāḍu (*Vēṇāḍuḍaiya*), made some provision for the conduct of the Uttiraviḷā-festival beginning from the day of Kārttigai in the month of Kumbha. This record is incomplete; but with the details of the festival we are not much concerned. The important synchronism that the record furnishes is that Vēṇāḍuḍaiya Śrīvallabhañ-Kōḍai was a feudatory of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman along with Gōvarddhana.

Fortunately for us, we know this Vēṇāḍu ruler from his Māmbaḷli copper-plate¹ and his two Tiruvanvaṇḍur² stone inscriptions. Of these three, the copper-plate is dated in Kollam 149 and the other astronomical details give the English equivalent—A. D. 973, November 10. As we do not know how long this Vēṇāḍu ruler reigned, and in what part of his reign Kollam 149 fell, we can only say that Bhāskara-Ravivarman, his suzerain of the Tirukkaḍittāṇam records, should have been reigning in the last quarter of the 10th century A. D.; and as Diwan Bahadur Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai M. A., L. L. B., I. S. O., has independently arrived at A. D. 978³ for the king's accession from calculating the details furnished in the unpublished Tirunelli plate, this may be accepted as the correct date of this Chēra king. From another record which has been edited *ante*⁴, we learn that in the 2nd + 12th year of this Chēra sovereign, Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman who was ruling over Naṇṇulai-nāḍu, was put in charge of Vēṇāḍu also. This would therefore indicate that Śrīvallabhañ-Kōḍai may have governed Vēṇāḍu from about Kollam 149 (A. D. 973) or somewhat earlier, till about the 14th year of Bhāskara-Ravi—i. e., A. D. 992, and that after his death, Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman may have succeeded him in the Vēṇāḍu administration. As this latter ruler has figured in the Cochin plate⁵ of Bhāskara-Ravivarman dated in his 2nd + 36th year,

1 *T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 1-11.

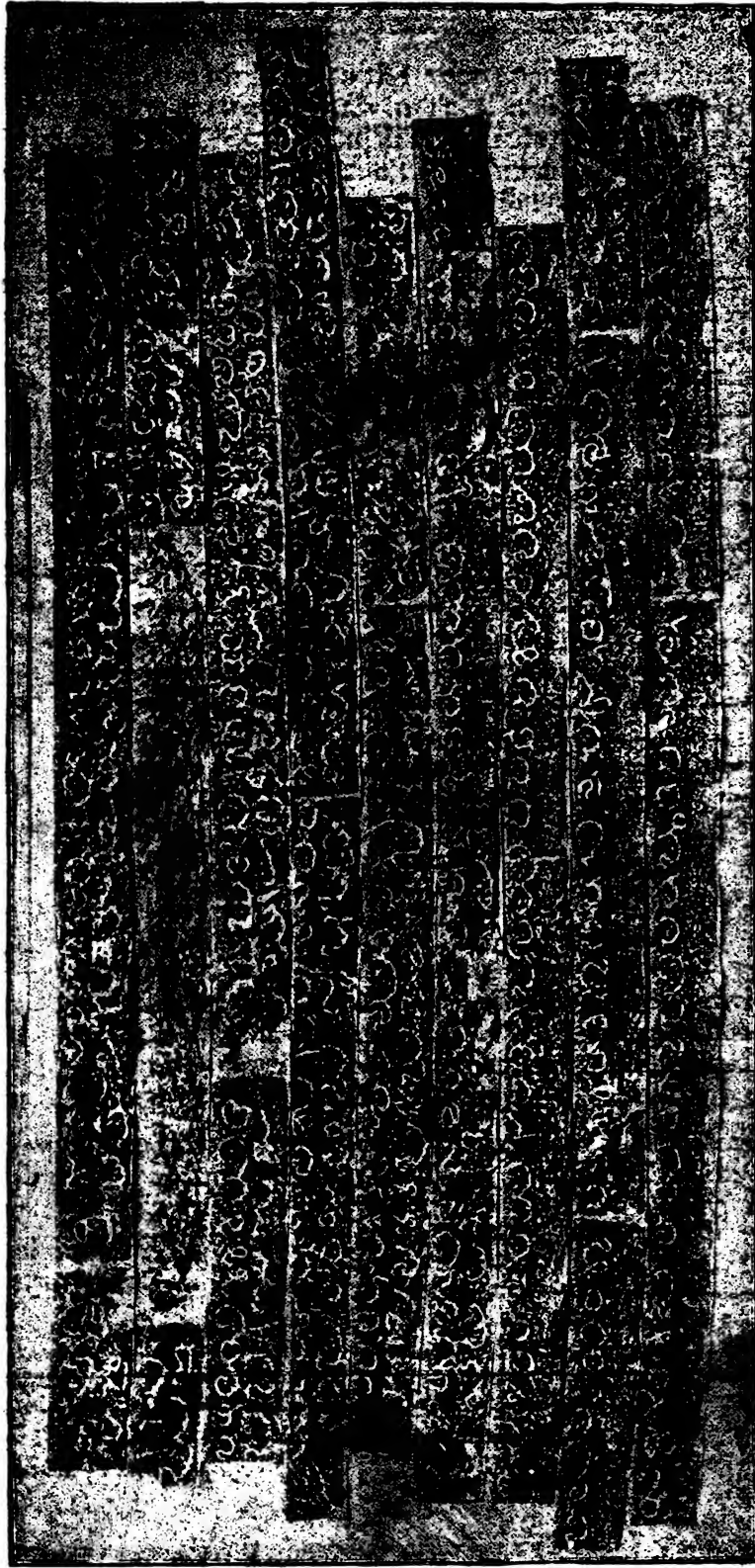
2 *T. A. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 22-5.

3 *T. A. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 31-2.

4 See page 178 *ante*.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 66-9.

No. 61.—THIRUKKADITTANAM RECORD OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN: 2ND+ . 3 YEAR.



A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

Scale: One-sevenths.

the period of Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍa's reign as a Venāḍu viceroy may approximately be fixed to be from A. D. 992 to at least 1016.

The importance of this epigraph for purposes of fixing Chera chronology cannot be overestimated, and the interesting triple synchronism that it establishes, namely, of the contemporaneity of Bhāskara-Ravi, Srīvallabhaṇ-Kōḍai and Gōvarddhana-Mārttāṇḍavarman is of very great value. It silences once for all the attempts that have recently been made to antedate Bhāskara-Ravi back to the 6th century A. D.¹ As regards the possibility of there being two kings of the same name of Bhāskara-Ravi, which is indicated by the variations in the positions of Jupiter in the several records, that question requires special examination.

Text

- 1 ஸ்ரீஸ்ரீ [1*] கொச்சிநி பாற்க்கரனிர்விவரம்மர்க்குச் செனாநின்ற யா-
ண்டி ரண்டி மார்த்தாண்டி நன் றுழநாடு
வாழத் திருக்கடித்தானத்து உத்திரகணத்தாநும் சீமலும் பணியும்
கூடி வெறுநடைப சிவிலவவங்கொலையம்மாந் அழைச்சு உத்திரவி-
ழா ஆட்டாண்டுங் கும்பபஞாயிற்று காத்திரை கொடிநாட்டி நிய-
கி முந்காழி நாழியால் தூற்றுந்நீ அநிகொண்டு அட்டி யூணுள் கறி-
புந் நெய்யு மொண்டாய்ப் பிராமணரை ஊட்டிப் பத்து கத்தமாடிச்சு
பணிமானிடத்தின்கு பண்டு கொடுக்கும் அரிகியும் இவ்வந்து நாலாயி-
ரா ஸ்ரீ[ழியில்] வெற்றிலை கொண்டு நியகிக்கு மட்டுஞ் சூது பவையுந் தாகி
உத்திரத்தினு¹

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

When the . . . opposite the second year of king Srī Bhāskara Ravivarmar was current and when [Gōvarddhana]-Mārttāṇḍavarman was administering Nan-
rulai-nāḍu, the *uttaraganattār* (the council of men supervising the *uttira*-festival)
of Tirukkadittanai, the Government officers (*nīlali*) and servants (*paṇi*) having
assembled, (arranged as follows):

For the Uttiravilā (Paṅgumi-Uttirai festival) which Srīvallabhaṇ-Kōḍai-
varmar the ruler of Venāḍu (*Venāḍudaiya*) had instituted (in the temple), the flag
shall be hoisted every year on (the day of) Kārttigai in the month of Kumbha,
brahmans shall be fed daily with food cooked of 100 measures of rice by the mea-
sure holding three *nāli*, together with vegetables and ghee, ten *kaṭṭu* (dramatic) per-
formances shall be played, and the servants shall be given the usual doles of rice;
and out of this four thousand *nāli* of rice, betel shall be supplied daily, and the
ali offerings shall also be strewn; and on the day of Uttirai

1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LII, pp. 220-3.

2 Registered as No. 10 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1100 N. B.

3 The missing syllables must be கொச்சிநி பாற்க்கரன்கொலையம்மாந்.

4 The writing stops here and may have been continued on the lower base, which is now covered up by the flooring of the prakāra.

No. 62—Record of Bhaskararavivarman: 1 + 1 year.

The subjoined record belongs to the year opposite the first year of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, when Jupiter was in Tūlā, and records the gift of a piece of land which Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Muḷakkāḍu made to god Bhaḷāra at Tirukkaḍittānam for the expenses of feeding twelve brahmins in the temple and for 12 *nāḷi* of offerings on new-moon days. The donation was made on the auspicious day of (Chitrai)-vishu.

It is note worthy that the year of opposition is mentioned as the first and not the second year, as is usual in Bhāskara-Ravivarman's records. This inscription was published incompletely on p. 45 of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Volume II; and although the present transcript is not complete, the words that have been omitted previously have now been added, so far as the damaged state of the epigraph would admit.

The amount of paddy and the extent of land are not reconcilable.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்ஷித ஸ்ரீ [1*] கொப்பாற்சுர இரவிவர்மம் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்-
ற 2மாண்டைக்கெதிராமாண்டு நால்பத்தெட்டும் சென்ற துலாத்தில்
வியாழந் நின்ற [சித்தி]ரை விழுந் நாள் திருக்கடித்தானத்து பழா-
ரார்க்கு முளக்காட்டு இயக்கந் கொவிநந் அமைச்ச செல்வரவிது [1*]
ஒரு [ந]ந்தாவிளக்கும் பந்திருவர் அமாவாதிநாள் பந்தி-
ருநாழி திரு அமிர்தம் இச்செலவின்
யில் . [விழா] காப்பவரளிடை நாலாயிரத்தெண்ணூறு பறை நெல்லி-
னு [தா]ன் [அ]ட்டி[ன] நா[தூற்று]க்கலம் நிலமும் தறையும் பா-
ழாரார்க்கு அட்டி கொடுத்தான் இயக்கந் கொவிநநன் இச்செலவு . . .
. மூதூற்று செலுத்த³

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity !

The expenses which Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Muḷakkāḍu provided for the god Bhaḷāra of Tirukkaḍittānam on the day of Chitrai-vishu, when forty-eight days had passed in the year opposite the . . year of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman's reign when Jupiter stood in Tūlā, are the following:—

For one perpetual lamp and feeding twelve men and for twelve *nāḷi* of rice on new-moon days, Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ gave with libation (of water) to for four thousand and eight hundred *paraḷi* of paddy, land of four hundred *kalam* and some sites on behalf of the god.

This expense hundred shall provide.

1 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1100 M. E.

2 It is possible that the syllables இரண்டா may have been omitted here.

3 The record stops here abruptly.



